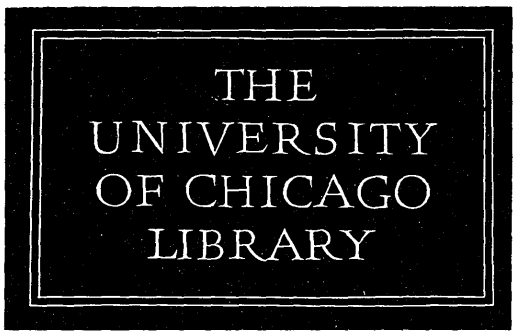

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BISHOPS AND COUNCILS:

THEIR CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

BY

JAMES LILLIE, D.D., M.D.

"But guard yourselves from the false prophets, who are coming to you in sheep's clothing, but within are tearing wolves; from their fruits you will come to know them."—MATT. VII. 15, 16.

"Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit hath made you overseers, to tend the congregation of the Lord, which He purchased through his own blood; for *I* know that there will enter, after my departure, tearing wolves among you, not sparing the flock, and from among yourselves shall rise up men speaking crooked things to draw away the disciples after them."—ACTS XX. 28, 29, 30.

"But one thing:"—PHIL. III. 14.

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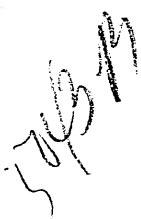
"Idem est ergo Presbyter, qui et Episcopus."—Jerome's Comm. on Tit. 1.

"A presbyter, therefore, is the same as a bishop."

"Secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit."

"According to the names of honour *which the usage of the Church has now acquired*, the office of a bishop is greater than that of a presbyter."—Augustine to Jerome.

"But I exhort you, brethren, to have an eye on those who are making divisions and stumbling-blocks, aside from the teaching which ye learned, and turn away from them."—Paul's Ep. to Rom. xvi. 17.



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TO

ANDREW D. LILLIE, Esq.,

This Work is Dedicated

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF THE

LOVE OF HIS

FATHER.

"Not in words taught by man's wisdom, but in words taught by the Spirit," 1 Cor. ii. 13;

"that, by us, you may learn the lesson: Nothing above what is written," 1 Cor. iv. 6.

"For such false apostles are guileful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ," 2 Cor. xi. 13;

"the apostasy first," 2 Thess. ii. 3;

"some shall apostatize from the faith," 1 Tim. iv. 1;

"the men will be self-lovers, money-lovers . . . having an appearance of piety," 2 Tim. iii. 2. 5;

"among you there shall be false teachers," 2 Pet. ii. 1.

"For there slipped in some men . . . ungodly ones," Jude 4;

"many false prophets have gone out into the world," 1 John iv. 1.

"Thou didst try those that call themselves apostles, and are not, and find them liars:" Rev. ii. 2.

"The great harlot . . . with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication," Rev. xvii. 1, 2.

"Babylon the great, the mother of the harlots, and of the abominations of the earth," Rev. xvii. 5.

ERRATUM.

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BISHOPS AND COUNCILS:

THEIR CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

INTRODUCTION.

In "THE PREFACE" to "THE FORM AND MANNER OF MAKING, ORDAINING, AND CONSECRATING OF BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND," we read these words:—

"*It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*"

If this is evident in the Holy Scripture to all "diligent" readers, it seems superfluous to appeal to "ancient authors." Article VI. declares: "HOLY Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man."

If the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ teach the "three orders," the Fathers are not needed as witnesses; Ignatius is impertinent if he thinks he can confirm what is asserted by Paul. However, if the Church of England

doubts the sufficiency of Scripture in this argument, it is natural she should try to make sure of her constitution by going down to the ancient authors, which is too like going down to Egypt; for there is, unfortunately, too much darkness among the Fathers. If, indeed, we take the Scripture just as the Church of England prints it, "*Bishops*" are plain enough; for are we not told at the end of 2 Tim., "The Second Epistle unto Timotheus, ordained the first bishop of the Church of the Ephesians, was written from Rome, when Paul was brought before Nero the second time"? And is it not added at the end of Titus, "It was written to Titus, ordained the first bishop of the Cretians, from Nicopolis of Macedonia"?

If this is Holy Scripture, it does not require "diligent" reading to see it; and it is clear Paul recognizes Timothy and Titus as bishops. But then, *if* it is *not* Scripture, why does the Church of England go on from century to century, printing it as such? Is not this setting traps for the feet of her children? That, surely, is not like a good mother. She knows very well it is not Scripture. When her scholars, Drs. Alford, Ellicot, and T. S. Green, translate Timothy and Titus, they will not touch these postscripts. Their love of truth will not tolerate such hierarchical deposits. Why does the Church of England persist in giving out as God's Word, what her wisest children are obliged to conceal? Nay; when Dr. Lightfoot is toiling at the task of proving the "three orders," and he evidently finds it hard work, he never hints at the two *first ordained bishops of the Ephesians and Cretians, Timotheus* and *Titus*. So far, then, from being Scripture, these two sentences are not even *true*. Alas! alas!

But then it may still be said, surely Paul expressly tells Timothy, "He that desireth the office of a bishop, desireth a good work." Is not Paul then plainly, in

favour of bishops? Paul does not mean by bishop what the Church of England does. *The old mother is again setting a trap for her children.* This I shall prove in the following pages. Meanwhile, let it go for what it is worth, that the excellent and learned Dr. Alford says (vol. iii. p. 303), "It is merely laying a trap for misunderstanding to render the Word at this time of the Church's history, the office of a Bishop;" and T. S. Green does not allow the word "bishop" to appear in his scholarlike version. In pointing, then, to such postscripts, and such texts, to prove her order of bishops, is there not ground for suspecting at least, that the Church of England is not dealing quite fairly? Is there not something very like prevarication, or wresting the Scripture to make ground for her bishops' feet?

The case is no better for her second order of priests, if it is not even worse; for there is not even one text to twist into her vindication. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the word priest often occurs, it is applied exclusively to the Jewish priests, or pre-eminently to our Great High Priest. In the First Epistle of Peter, and in Revelation, the title priest is given expressly, or by implication, to all Christians. In appropriating, therefore, the honour to her second order, the Church of England is stripping her common children to adorn her favourites—her own illegitimate children.

As to the third order—the poor deacons, there is palpable prevarication; there is flagrant absurdity. The *Apostolic* deacons were, as the word means, *waiters*, and they were appointed to wait on the *poor*. The *Anglican* deacon waits on the *priest*, and forms the lowest grade of the hierarchy.

The Church of England, then, has clearly no foothold in Scripture for her "three orders;" and she

seems conscious of this, in putting the "ancient authors" side by side with Scripture, as a collateral security. If, however, Holy Scripture is the only valid proof of what is to be required of any man, as Article VI. declares, it is illogical to bring in the Fathers to help herself in her scriptural strait; she is "self-condemned," *i.e.*, heretical in doing so, Tit. iii. 11. Still, for the sake of argument, and the cutting off of all cavil, after arguing the question in what is, according to the Church of England herself, the only court of appeal, this work carries the question into the court of the Fathers, and confirms, as the author believes, the verdict previously gained. Clement of Rome, Papias (St. Ignatius is put out of court), Polycarp, Hermas, Pius I., Diognetus' Correspondent, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius the historian, Hilary of Poictiers, Gregory Nazianzen; and last, but not least, Jerome and Augustine: sixteen competent witnesses are called in succession for their testimony; it will be found, it is believed, to confirm all that has been previously proved from Scripture.

But it is not enough to gain this great cause in the courts of Scripture and the Fathers. Practically, and finally, it must be decided by the people of this mighty nation. The jury before which the case is now tried, are the Commons of Great Britain—not the *House* of Commons. The trial, all things considered, will not be long; though it may be tedious to a nation staggering under a debt of eight hundred millions sterling. But the verdict, when it comes, and it is sure, will perhaps make the burden more tolerable. One or two words more.

In connecting the institution of Prelacy with the warning of our Lord, and the express predictions of his apostles, the writer ventures to think he presents a very

important subject in a point of view, which has been too little, if at all, considered. It seems one of the clearest, as it is the most important, lesson of Church history, that Prelacy, *especially* in union with the State, has been the great agent in bringing in the Apostasy predicted by the apostles, and maintaining it for over fifteen centuries.

The discussion of the "Christian Ministry" by Dr. Lightfoot, in his volume on the Epistle to the Philippians, being the most elaborate, as well as the most recent, defence of Prelacy that has fallen in the author's way, has called forth some special strictures, which, if searching, it is hoped are consistent with the respect due to the high position and distinguished learning of the Hulsean professor of Cambridge.

The remarks on some points in Bishop Ellicot's volume on the Pastoral Epistles, as well as on his public conduct, and that of some of his brother Prelates in the House of Lords, and elsewhere, in the late crisis of the Irish Church, may be useful in illustrating the practical working of Prelacy; and how deeply it concerns the public to understand that ruinously expensive, and most deleterious, institution. "By their fruits you will come to know them."

While expressing his gratitude to Dean Alford for his "more abundant" labours in sacred criticism—labours unrivalled in our day for extent and thoroughness—the author much regrets being obliged to qualify his acknowledgments, by one or two remarks on his recent revision of the authorized version of the New Testament.

The contrast between the Dean's Critical New Testament and his popular version, seems to justify a doubt about the ability of the Anglican Church to furnish a

fair and full English version of the Greek of the New Testament. The fatal equivocation of confounding *bishop* (prelate) with the apostolic *overseer* (ἐπισκοπος) so long persisted in, and so essential to the hierarchy, is still too profitable to be soon abandoned. It is amusing to see Dr. Irons, in the latest manifesto of the Anglicans, gravely translating *overseer*, while insisting on the *three* orders of *bishops*, priests, and deacons, apparently as oblivious as the Consecration Service, that Paul's overseer was an elder or presbyter, as the immediate context demonstrates, and that there were several of them in the single Church or congregation of Ephesus. A somewhat desultory dissertation from the pen of Bishop Ellicot precedes that of Dr. Irons, for which the bishop modestly apologizes by his inability for continuous study. May the author be pardoned if he suggests that, if Dr. Ellicot would resolutely follow Paul's command to Timothy (1 Ep. iv. 13—16), "Ply the reading, the exhortation, the teaching—mind thyself and the teachings; stick to them: for, doing this, thou wilt both save thyself and thy hearers,"—his ability to guide modern "thought" would be greater. But, in that case, he *must* leave the Lords. *Then*, possibly (?) he might throw some light on "*The Ontological relations of the Hypostases;*" "*The Triune Ontology.*" At present he leaves the matter rather dark.

Bishop Ellicot is very severe on the modern translators and revisers of the New Testament. Even the learned and eloquent Dr. Eadie has the accuracy of his Greek questioned, while his critic condescends, so far as I perceive, on no instance of mistake. The author knows not whether his late brother's volume on Revelation and some of the "General Epistles" has fallen under the bishop's eye. It was honoured by the diploma of the

University of Edinburgh, and may not be unworthy of being excepted from the general condemnation.

The texts which the author has occasion to quote he translates from the original, and makes rather free with the bishop's revision of the pastoral epistles. Having been familiar with his Greek Testament over half a century, he hopes he may, without presumption, give his own views, without much alarm about an *ex cathedra* frown.

Mr. Gladstone justly occupies so high a place in the confidence, esteem, and admiration of the nation, as to render any expression of his opinion a matter of the deepest interest and concern to us all. His approbation of the policy of Constantine, not to speak of Justinian and Charlemagne, in establishing Christianity, and his avowal that he would have done the same, justify the somewhat extended attention, devoted in the discussion, to the character and conduct of the first Christian (so-called) emperor, as well as to those of the prelates whom he assembled at Nicæa (Nice). Justinian has also been the subject of a somewhat lengthened notice. As the disestablishment of the Irish Church naturally brings up the questions of the Welsh and Scotch Establishments, leading inevitably to the immensely-important one of the English, the criticisms on the Government, offices, and practices of that most opulent organization, cannot justly be considered out of either time or place.

The author has given considerable space to some criticisms on those learned Church historians, elegant scholars, and fine writers—Deans Milman and Stanley. To all their other excellences they, generally, add an outspoken truthfulness, a rare virtue with ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern. These merits

make their mistakes, if such they are, the more dangerous, since, combined with their high position, they constitute them especial teachers of our legislators, and of those controlling our legislators.

The translation of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, now in course of publication by the Messrs. Clarke & Co., Edinburgh, is an enterprise of great interest and value in connection with this subject, as it enables Christians in general to form an intelligent opinion on a matter in which they are all deeply and equally concerned. It will be still more valuable if some prelatic leanings are corrected in future. Some of these are pointed out. A significant mutilation of Cyprian's 11th Ep., and a glaring, not to say almost incredible, perversion of the 5th, seem to demonstrate that self-styled Churchmen, however fond of appealing to the Fathers, find their testimony sometimes very unpalatable. The translator, Dr. Wallis, follows Migné's in preference to Dr. Fell's beautiful Oxford edition. The reason of this preference is not given. It seems strange, that an Anglican should prefer a spurious Romanist edition to the admirable one of his own Church, which Dupin, the Romanist, so fervently eulogizes.

The author is pleased to add the name of Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to the names of Cyprian, Eusebius C., Gregory N., Hilary, Augustine, etc., as a witness above all challenge in his plea against Prelacy. He concludes this Introduction by a word from Hilary to the bishops of his day. It is still seasonable.

"And let me first pity our age, and bewail the hardship of present times, in which human things are believed to patronize God, and men toil to defend the Church of Christ by secular ambition. I beseech you, O bishops, who believe that this belongs to you, what

votes did the apostles employ in preaching the gospel? Aided by what powers did they preach Christ, and turn almost all the nations from idols to God? Did they take any dignity to themselves from a palace, when, in chains and after stripes, they chanted in prison a hymn to God? And was it by the edicts of kings that Paul was gathering a Church for Christ, when himself was a spectacle in the theatre? Or did not the power of God come forth against the hatred of man, when Christ was preached all the more, the more his preaching was forbidden? But now, O shame! earthly votes commend faith, and Christ is accused of being destitute of strength, while ambition is allured to his name. The Church terrifies by banishment and prisons, and compels faith in herself, when it was in defiance of banishment and prisons that the faith of Christ triumphed. *She* puts priests to flight, who was propagated by the flight of priests. She glories in being beloved by the world, when it is impossible she can belong to Christ, unless the world hate her. These things, the plain fact, which all see and speak of, has cried aloud from a comparison of the Church which was of old delivered to us, and is now as utterly ruined."—*Hilarii Pictav. Contra Auxentium.*

CHAPTER I.

In the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord told his disciples (Matt. vii. 15, 16.), "But guard yourselves from the false prophets, who are coming to you in sheep's clothing, but within are tearing wolves; from their fruits you will come to know them." About thirty years after, we find Paul thus addressing the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28, 29, 30.), "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit placed you as overseers (bishops), to tend the congregation of the Lord, which he purchased through his own blood; for *I** know that there will enter, after my departure, tearing† wolves among you, not sparing the flock; and from among yourselves shall rise up men speaking crooked‡ things, to draw away the disciples after them."

The words of our Lord are very precise. "*The*§ false prophets" implies that He had in his omniscient eye the wolves that were to come, and that the detection of them would require careful consideration. It was not merely keeping their eyes open that would preserve them. The "sheep's clothing" would deceive them,

* ἐγω.

† βαρ. A different word from Christ's, but identical in meaning: see De W.

‡ διεσ. "*Turned aside*" from the line of truth. Con. N., p. 12.

§ τωv. S. Green; Alford overlooks it.

unless they used their minds as well as their eyes to judge the conduct of the prophets. "Ye will come to know* them by their fruits." You must examine the fruit—handle, taste, smell it; and you will find out the kind of tree that bears it. No matter how green the leaves, how spreading the branches, how noble the height, and beautiful the form; if the fruit turns out bad, the tree is no better.

Paul's words are very emphatic, and apparently parallel to his Lord's. "*I* know," *you* do not; but the Spirit has revealed it to me, that I may warn you. Tearing wolves are coming among you. They are waiting for my "*departure.*" Do not look for them merely from abroad. Watch yourselves, and one another; for, "from among yourselves shall men arise, speaking crooked things, to draw away *the* disciples after them": those beloved men "whom I warned for two years, night and day with tears." Strange, and awful, that it should be possible, nay, certain, that men chosen by the Holy Spirit as overseers would become seducers, *wolves;* for it cannot be doubted that the "men" of the 30th verse were the same as the "wolves" in the 29th.

In our search, then, for the wolves announced by our Lord Jesus Christ, and predicted by Paul, we must remember, they were to rise up from among the primitive elders, presbyters or overseers.† A fact so remarkable calls for our most earnest con-

* ἐπιγ. *recognize, detect.*

† The learned Dr. Lightfoot has anticipated me here. I am the more pleased to mark the coincidence, as it happens but rarely that I can agree with the ingenious and moderate Hulsean Professor of Cambridge. Page 194 of his vol. on Phil. "The Episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral, by elevation," etc. But who elevated them? Themselves? "*He that exalteth himself shall be abased.*"

sideration; and, that we may properly appreciate it, we may briefly survey other portions of Scripture which may help us to understand it.

It will be found, on a careful examination, that the apostles never taught their disciples to look for any immediate and universal triumph of Christianity. Paul's epistles repeat the warning to the Ephesian elders in various and awful forms. He wrote his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians for the very purpose of guarding them against expecting the return of the Lord before "the apostasy," or "falling away" in the Church, and "the revelation of the man of sin," "the Son of perdition," the "wicked one," "who was to oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God."

Writing to the Romans (xvi. 17, 18.), he says: "But I exhort you, brethren, to have an eye on those who are making divisions and stumbling-blocks, aside* from the teaching which ye learned, and turn away from them;

* παρὰ, with the accus. signifies *alongside, near, near by.* All the modern versions, however, that I have observed,* render παρὰ, here, by "*contrary to.*" But the Vulgate has "*præter,*" and Tremellius so renders the *Peschito;* and Etheridge gives "*apart from.*" There seems to be no necessity here for departing from the ordinary meaning of παρὰ. Nay, if I mistake not, we obtain a superior significance by retaining it. Counterfeits are always made as near the originals as possible. The enemies of truth, of all sorts, attack it in flank. When Arius assailed the supreme divinity of Christ, he did not deny that He was God in any sense; He was only *almost, very* nearly, equal to the Father. He was of *like* nature, not of the *same.* What the apostle then seems to say is, Beware of those who bring in alterations, however small, on the truths which ye have learned. No matter how *near* the new teaching seems to the old. Have nothing to do, either with it or with those who utter it. "Turn away from them." I am greatly mistaken if this text, so explained, will not enable us to judge correctly, and to condemn the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. I would add, παρὰ with the accus. *never*, unless I mistake, in New Testament signifies "*contrary to.*" Con. P. 65, etc., *note.* Con. διεσ. N. 3, p. 10. * *Except Luther's.*

for such as they are bondmen, not to our Lord Jesus Christ, but to their own belly; and, through their kind-talking, and good-talking,* they are quite deceiving the hearts of the harmless." Here was a warning to the Church of Rome, against the plausible belly-slaves that were even then springing up in her. The warning was at last lost sight of; the fine talking prevailed; and Rome has stood forth for ages as the head-quarters of the belly-slaves, who, in every quarter of the world, have been perverting the doctrine of Christ and Paul for over a thousand years. During these long years of apostasy the leaders have always been priests; but at first, doubtless, they were presbyters.

Paul (2 Cor. xi. 13, 14.) declares: "For such false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ. And no wonder, for Satan himself is transforming himself into an angel of light." It was no wonder that the false prophets, the apostate presbyters, were transforming themselves into apostles of Christ, when their Master was setting them the example; but that Satan should have been allowed thus to transform himself, *is* a wonder so stupendous, that we can only exclaim while we gaze: O the height and depth of the counsels of our Father! And we learn a needful warning in our day, that a man's calling himself an apostle, or the successor of the apostles, is no security that Satan is not his prompter. No wonder, then, the apostasy came soon, and lasts long.

In 1 Tim. iv. 1., we have the apostasy again plainly foretold. "The Spirit expressly saith that *some* shall apostatize from the faith"! "*Some*"† does not necessarily mean a few, nor even a minority. In Heb. iii. 16, we are told "some" of the Israelites believed not. We know

* See p. 97. † "Some" here means many—nay, *most*.

from the history, that the unbelievers were the whole nation with one or two exceptions, so that of all who came out of Egypt, only Joshua and Caleb crossed the Jordan. The same significant word "*some*" occurs four times in 1 Cor. x. 7, 8, 9, 10, and it is explained in ver. 5 by "*many*"; and it must not be forgotten, that it is the case of the Israelities that is continually referred to. From this it may be fairly inferred that the apostasy predicted, if not absolutely universal, would yet involve the vast majority of those belonging to the *church* (*so called*).

In 2 Tim. iii. 1., the awful subject is again brought up. "This, however, know that in the last days there will set in difficult times; for *the* men (the men of the last days) will be self-lovers, lovers of money . . . having a form of piety, but having *denied** its power." This was a fact as certain as it was important. Timothy was to have no doubt about it, and he was to be continually calling it to mind. *The* men of the last times were to be ambitious (self-lovers) and avaricious. Men had always been so, in all ages; but the characteristic of the men in question was, that they were to be *churchmen*, they were to have "a form of piety," but the power of it was to be *denied*. Splendid temples, robed priests, glorious thrones for bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs, furious debates about the distinctions in the divine essence, and whether Mary was the mother of God; and all the while fighting for power like Pagans, cheating for gold like Jews.

But it is not Paul alone who thus confirms the prediction of his Lord. The whole college of the apostles are at one here. "Whence are wars, and whence are fights among you?" cries James; "are they not hence, from

* ἠρ. The Perfect here seems very emphatic; the apostates would never return. See T. S. Green's "Grammar of the New Testament" use of the Perfect.

your lusts?" your ambition, your avarice. The wolfish work had already begun; but it was little compared with what was to follow, when the proud money-loving priest was to find emperors and kings to arm in his quarrel. Peter too, in his 2 Epist. ii. 1., writes: "But there arose also false prophets among the people, as also among you there shall be false teachers, such as shall stealthily bring in destructive sects, even *denying* the Master that bought them; bringing on themselves speedy destruction, and many shall follow out their lascivious ways." This passage is a favourite one with self-styled churchmen, as if it concerned those alone who renounce all establishments and teach error; but the most fatal of all sectarians and errorists have been the established ones; because, by the all-powerful attraction of wealth and position, they have in all ages been the nurseries of Diotrepheses, trampling on the rights of conscience, and the persons of their brethren, in their mad pursuit of wealth and power.

And did it mend the matter, that these worldlings railed at sects, and boasted of their orthodoxy and their apostolic succession? As if *they* were not the worst sects of all, who have, in all ages, when they had the power, filled the world with their crimes? They are very sure they cannot be referred to by Peter, because they are great sticklers for the Trinity (a word of their own coinage), and fierce assertors of the divinity of Christ. How then can *they* be disowners of the Lord? But may they not be too self-confident? May they not forget the words of Him who said: "Many shall say to Me in that day, Lord, Lord! (the vain repetition sticks by them to the last), have we not prophesied in Thy name? When we preached, did we not again, and again, and again glorify Thee, the Son, along with the Father and the

Holy Ghost? "Then will I profess unto them: *Never did I know you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*"

"And many shall follow their lascivious ways." "*Many,*" the very word employed by our Lord and Paul to designate the unbelievers. Yet the established sects have always gloried in their numbers; as if we were not warned against following a multitude to do evil; as if the broad road were not always the crowded one, as if Paul's two predictions, in his two letters to Timothy, did not imply that the apostasy was to be all but universal.

The Epistle of Jude is a very short one; but the subject of it is a warning against the apostates predicted by Christ, and Paul, and Peter, and denounced by James (ver. 4.) "For there slipped in by the side" (mark the *some*) "some men, who have been before of old written down for this condemnation, impious ones, changing the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and disowning our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ." The self-styled Catholics, whether Roman, Anglican, or Greek, are sure this can have no reference to them, because they never disowned Christ; but, on the contrary, have filled the world with their confessions, Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian. But it deserves consideration, whether *works* are not always more weighty than *words* with a wise man. The man Christ Jesus is wisdom itself. "Lord, Lord," is loathsome to Him in the mouths of the "workers of iniquity;" and Paul expressly declares (Tit. i. 15.), "God they are professing to know," this was just one mark of the apostates. They did not *profess* Atheism, "but by their works they are denying Him, being loathsome" (only the more so for their creeds) "and disobedient, and for every good work worthless." We must never forget, then, in our search for the *wolves*, that loud and long confessions are characteristic. There is no wolf that does

not howl. We must then compare the *words* of the Bishops of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon with their *works*, if we would judge by the law of Christ. The outside, the mere talk, "the sheep's clothing" is no proof. We find them out by their "*fruits.*" "The good tree cannot make bad fruit." "*So then* by their fruits you shall come to know them.*"

As the last of the apostles lived nearest the apostasy, he is the most conspicuous prophet of its approach. Besides repeated notices in his epistles, he was honoured by his Lord, "who loved him," to write the "Revelation," painting the rise and bloody triumphs of Antichrist, and his final ruin by the "Revelation" of the Royal Judge from heaven. Thus (1 John ii. 18.), "Little children, it is the last time; and just as ye heard that Antichrist is coming, even now many Antichrists have arisen;" and iv. 1., "Many false prophets have gone out into the world."

But the most remarkable illustration of the words of Christ and his apostle is found in the Epistle to the Church of Ephesus, into which Paul declared the tearing wolves were to enter. Rev. ii. 2., "I know thy works," not words, "and thy toil, and thy endurance, and that thou art not able to bear bad men, and thou didst try those that are saying they are apostles, and are not, and thou didst find them liars." Here are the men that were to rise up from among the elders of Ephesus, "speaking crooked things to draw away the disciples after them." Every lie is a crooked thing, being a deviation from the straight line of truth; and a great lie was spoken by these men in giving themselves out as apostles; and the reason why the great lie was uttered, was "to draw away the Ephesian disciples after *them*," as they, the disciples, had gone after Paul and the other apostles. While John

* ἄραγε.

yet lingered on the footstool, the lying apostles were tried and condemned. The sheepskins were stripped from the wolves; they stood out in their natural shape, and the sheep were saved But when John, as well as Paul, had departed, hundreds of years after we find men in Ephesus, calling themselves successors of the apostles. *Them* we must try, and see whether they were not liars, as their predecessors were. Meanwhile, let us not forget that another conspicuous mark of the wolves, of whom we are in search, is a claim to apostolicity. That claim, wherever we meet it, will have to be tested by the works of the claimants; for it is by their fruits they must be found out. Let us, then, look into history for the apostasy and its leaders—the *wolves*.

In surveying the centuries that followed the apostles, we must not forget the officers they left behind them: they were elders, presbyters, or overseers (for by these three names one office is distinguished) and deacons. In the Epistles to Timothy and Titus we can find no other ordinary ministers. In Acts xiv. 23, we find Paul and Barnabas "*appointing by election** elders in every church." "*The Apostles ordained those whom the churches elected.*"—(Alford.) This is a key-text on the subject of Church-government. *The apostles never* ordained presbyters over any church, that the church had not previously chosen by vote; that is, by stretching out the hand, as the word "translated" ordained, in our English Version, properly signifies. However, there is not one of the self-styled successors of the apostles in England who does not, as a rule, appoint presbyters over churches whom the churches never chose—arrogating to himself in this a power which even the apostles never claimed. Dr. Alford is entitled to great honour for here

* χειροτονησαντες.

speaking the truth, which must be unpalatable to his superiors. It is a pity that in his Revised Version for the common reader, Dr. Alford* renders Acts xiv. 23 thus: "And when they" (Paul and Barnabas) "had elected for them elders," thus asserting it was the apostles who elected the elders, contrary to the Greek and his own previous statement in his critical Greek Testament.

Keeping, then, this all-important fact in mind, that the only government established by the apostles in the Church was that by elders and deacons, and never forgetting Christ's warning about the coming of the false prophets, who were to cry, "Lord, Lord," and work iniquity; that Paul, who told the elders, "I know wolves are coming," thrice foretold an apostasy, and that all the other apostles confirmed his prediction; that apostles of Satan had appeared among the Corinthians, and that men calling themselves apostles had actually been proved liars in Ephesus; that *Churchmen* would be lovers of themselves, as well as lovers of money, and yet would have a form of piety, while denying its power: remembering all this, let us carefully, and, if possible, calmly, examine the ages that followed the apostles, and see if we cannot detect men answering in every particular to the divine predictions. Having heard the testimony of Christ and his apostles, we must now listen to the testimony of the apostolical Fathers.

* It is fair to suppose Dr. Alford has seen reasons to change his mind. His readers are entitled to know his reasons.

CHAPTER II.

THE first witness is Clement of Rome, generally, and I believe, justly regarded as the disciple of Paul mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3) as having his "name in the book of life." His epistle may safely be dated about the close of the first century. It was occasioned by a quarrel in the Church of Corinth, and in the name of the Church of Rome, and not as a prelate, still less as a pope (though he is claimed by the Romanists as the first after Peter, and Prelate Eusebius says so, though he contradicts himself), *Clement* thus addresses those to whom he wrote (c. xlii.): "And thus preaching through the countries and cities (he is speaking of the apostles) they appointed their first-fruits, having first proved them through the spirit, overseers and deacons for those who were about to believe." Again (in c. xliv.) we find, "And our apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus, that there would be strife about the name overseership.* For this reason, then, having received a perfect foreknowledge, they appointed those before-mentioned,

* Dr. Roberts, etc., do not translate επισκοπην; they transfer it by *episcopate*, which misleads the common reader into the delusion that Clement was an Episcopalian. It is still more improper to make "a strife about the overseership"—a strife about the *priestly office*. It is no excuse that they are only translating Dressler's Latin. They pledge themselves to translate Clement's Greek into English, and, if Dressler puts a false caption to (c. xliv.), they should not countenance the blunder, or the deceit.

and meanwhile gave direction that when they should have fallen asleep, other proved men should receive their ministry."

This is very significant. The apostles, expressly instructed by their Lord, foresaw the contentions about overseership (επισκοπην, episcopacy, so-called), and, to prevent it, took measures to secure a perpetual succession of elders (presbyters) and deacons. Now, the question is, Have not the self-styled successors of the apostles frustrated them in their design? Have they, the prelates, or have they not, thrust down the presbyters from the succession with which the apostles, by Christ's special order, invested them, and taken the succession to themselves? And, as the inevitable consequence, has not "the strife" come, that fatal strife about episcopacy, which has filled the Church with wolves, and the world with crimes?

Lastly. The man "whose name is in the book of life" writes (c. xlvii.): "Disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, and unworthy of the guidance in Christ, is the report that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, for one or two persons, revolt against the elders." Query. If it was so disgraceful, aye, so very disgraceful, for the Church of Corinth to revolt against the apostolic guidance of the presbyters for one or two persons, is it honourable, yea, is it highly honourable, for the Church of England to persist in a revolt of a thousand years against the apostolical rule of presbyters for one or two prelates? Englishmen, "I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say." Dr. Lightfoot allows that Clement uses bishop and presbyter as synonymous. P. 96. In a posthumous work of Dr. T. Arnold, "On the Church" (edited by Dr. Stanley), we find him speaking, on p. 217, of Clement insisting ear-

nestly on the apostolic succession of the Bishop of Corinth, and yet Dr. Arnold (pp. 65, 66), says, "Certain it is that Clement, like St. Paul, recognizes no one bishop, in the latter sense of the term, as ruling the Church of Corinth," etc. Dean Stanley says nothing to explain the apparent contradiction.

II. Let us now examine our second witness, the martyr Polycarp, whom Irenæus, in his letter to Florinus, calls a presbyter. He wrote a letter to the Church of Philippi, and it, like Paul's to the same body, furnishes a clear demonstration of the apostolic ministry of presbyters. The very first clause implies this: "Polycarp, and those who with him are presbyters." Dr. Lightfoot says (p. 210), "He evidently writes as a bishop, for he distinguishes himself from his presbyters." It had been well if Dr. Lightfoot had quoted the original,* and allowed his pupils to judge for themselves. I take the words as they stand; but, taking the clause as Dr. Lightfoot construes it: "Polycarp, and the presbyters with him," does that necessarily imply that he was a prelate? Suppose a Presbyterian pastor were writing a letter in the name of his session, or congregational presbytery, and were to begin by saying, "A. B., and the elders with him," would he not smile to be saluted prelate, or even bishop of the church, in the modern sense of that title? This is indeed a very fine point to set the huge pyramid of the hierarchy upon.

Dr. Lightfoot seems to feel it needs some propping, and he tries to find it in *St.* Ignatius. The genuine letters of Ignatius, it seems, mention Polycarp by name as Bishop of Smyrna. But how does the Doctor know the letters are *genuine?* He allows that, of the fifteen so-called Ignatian letters, twelve are forgeries, and of the three that remain, he does not acknowledge one-half of

* πολυκαρπος, και οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι.

the text as genuine. Of the three forms in which the three letters remain, the Doctor rejects both the larger as spurious. Why does he admit the smallest? He gives no reason. He avowedly* *assumes* it. So the hierarchical pyramid trembling on that fine, invisible point, is propped by an *assumption* merely!

But the Doctor's troubles are not yet ended. For he allows that Clement uses bishop and presbyter as Paul does; that is, as meaning the same office. He also says Ignatius and Clement were contemporaries. Why, then should he think it possible that they should use the same word in totally different senses? This is one reason among many why Calvin would not even argue the merits of the prelatic Ignatius, but hangs him up, out of hand, as a forger. The lot of martyr Ignatius has indeed, been a hard one; worried by wild beasts while he lived, and worried, in his good name, by forgers when dead. "I hope, by your prayers," says the forger, "that I may be devoured by beasts at Rome." "My spirit bows in adoration to the cross." Such is the talk which Dr. Lightfoot holds as the "*genuine*"

* P. 232, *note*. "Throughout this dissertation it is *assumed* that the Syriac version represents the epistles of Ignatius in their genuine form. The reasons for this view are better given by R. A. Lipsius than by any other writer." Why does not the Doctor give Lipsius' reasons? Was it want of room? Why could not room be found by leaving out something of the dissertation on Paul and Seneca, if not by expunging it altogether? The whole correspondence is a forgery, like the "Ignatian" letters, as the Doctor confesses. Why then waste time on it? It is curious to see how critics differ. Dean Milman, vol. ii. 74 ("History of Christianity"), gives what he calls Ignatius' pleasing theory of Episcopacy, in which the presbyters are the strings and the bishop the harp! Dr. Lightfoot rejects the passage as spurious, and spoils the Dean's theory and the episcopal harmony. After writing his "History of Christianity," Dean Milman, in his "History of Latin Christianity," gives up Bishop Pearson's *seven* Ignatian letters, and adheres to the three shrivelled Syriac. These, however, contain nothing about the harmonious episcopal lyre.

Ignatianism, sent to the Ephesians. To the Romans, the letter says (c. v.), "I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me." "I will provoke them speedily to devour me. Even should they be unwilling to approach me, I will go with violence against them." This would be very unkind to such gentle lions. This is a pitch of piety which Daniel never dreamed of. The letter to Polycarp says (c. vi.), "I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop;" that is: If they will only implicitly obey the bishop, I will answer for them at last with my soul. What could Polycarp think of such devotion as this?

We had almost forgotten Polycarp while cross-examining *St.* Ignatius.

Polycarp, then, in his letter "to the Church of God sojourning at Philippi," never once mentions the word bishop. He exhorts the deacons in one chapter (v.), and the presbyters in another (vi.). True, there is one chapter (xiii.) about Ignatius' letters; but I am so entirely of Dr. Roberts' opinion that "there seems considerable force" in the arguments against its genuineness, that I hold it a waste of time to argue the matter. In one word, the chapter is purely *Ignatian,* that is *spurious,* as Dr. Lightfoot very curiously enters the "Ignatian letters" in his Index.

But, then, others besides Ignatius call Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna. If Dr. Lightfoot could prove they use the word in a sense different from Paul's, that is, that they make him a *prelate* of Smyrna, and not a plain *overseer,* he would be doing something to the purpose. "Again," says the Doctor, "in the letter written by his own Church, and giving an account of his martyrdom," he is styled "Bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna." Yes, but what sort of letter is

it? *Ignatian?* For example: Polycarp is requested by the pro-consul to speak to the people who are clamouring for his death, and "*to persuade them.*" But Polycarp replied: "As for *these,* I do not think them worthy of receiving any account from me." Was that spoken like a disciple of an apostle? Did the love of John's pupil breathe in the scornful "*these*"? Paul entreated the centurion to allow him to speak to the mob, who had just nearly torn him in pieces. Again, Polycarp is praying, and has a vision, and the pillow under his head seemed to be on fire, and he said prophetically to those with him: "I must be burned alive." But it turned out a delusion, and he was a false prophet, for he was *not* burned ALIVE. For, after praying, when the pile was kindled, the fire formed an arch, and would not burn him, and he looked like gold and silver glowing in a furnace, and there was a sweet odour, etc. Then, when he could not be consumed, one pierced him with a dagger, and a *dove came out,* and a great quantity of blood, *which put the fire out.* The centurion then placed the body *in the midst of the fire,* and consumed it. And we are assured, that "every word which proceeded out of Polycarp's mouth *has been accomplished!*" And it is such a witness as this that Dr. Lightfoot believes, *especially* when he says: "He, Polycarp, was Bishop of the Catholic Church which is in Smyrna."

I appeal to any man who believes *that* Spirit who spake "expressly" by Paul, whether the apostasy had not then begun, when these shameless legends came in vogue, and whether "some were not giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of dæmons, speaking lies in hypocrisy" (1 Tim. iv. 1, etc.) So, then, after patiently testing all the props that Dr. Lightfoot has devised to keep Bishop Polycarp on his throne, we find them rotten.

The trembling hierarchy, so far as we yet see, must come down. Our third witness is Papias.

III. He, as well as Polycarp and Ignatius, was a disciple of John the apostle. His testimony is found (Euseb. B. iii. c. 49), "I will not be slow to set in order also for thee, whatsoever I well learned and well remembered from the elders," etc. "If any one came who had closely followed the elders, I was in the habit of carefully inquiring into the sayings of the elders. What Andrew or Peter said, or what Philip said, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, which things Aristion and John the elder *are saying!*" apparently implying that Aristion and John the elder were still alive and conversing with him. This testimony of the venerable Papias is no less remarkable for its touching simplicity than for its logical significance. He has no higher title, either for the apostles or their followers, than *elders*. The apostle whom Jesus loved called himself "the elder;" and the John who reported his namesake's sayings to Papias, was also an elder; and yet Prelate Eusebius makes Papias Prelate of Hierapolis, and Dr. Lightfoot accepts the fiction! "Papias is commonly designated bishop." Designated by whom? By himself? If he was a prelate, surely he would have told us. When were prelates backward in claiming their titles? But he never mentions that abused word *overseer* (επισκοπος) which has been transferred in *bishop*, and transformed by the hierarchy into *prelate*. I repeat, then, designated by whom? Only by Prelate Eusebius; but *he* is an interested, and, by his own account, a very unscrupulous witness; and I cannot consent that he shall be wiser than Papias himself, about Papias' title.

The testimony of Papias enables us to dispose of Dr. Lightfoot's statement, p. 204, "Asia Minor was the

nurse, if not the mother, of episcopacy in the Gentile churches. So important an institution, developed in a Christian community, of which John was the living centre and guide, could hardly have grown up without his sanction; and, as will be seen, early tradition very distinctly connects his name with the appointment of bishops in these parts." We have the explicit statement of Papias, recorded by Prelate Eusebius (*here* he is quite reliable) that he, Papias, gathered up the sayings of the Apostle John, and the other apostles; but about any such "sanction" as Dr. Lightfoot fancies, he says not one word. The only bishops of whom we have any reliable record, as apostolically appointed in Asia Minor, are presbyters, chosen by the churches, and ordained by Paul and Barnabas in every city (Acts xiv. 23). These presbyters are addressed by Paul (Acts xx. 29), as (επισκοπους) overseers or *bishops*. The "early tradition," referred to by Dr. Lightfoot, and mentioned p. 206, is mainly forgeries in the names of Peter, Clement of Rome, and the apostles in general. A system that relies on such dishonest documents, must be a false system. The "tradition," however "early," is just like the early traditions of the Pharisees, which made the Word of God "of none effect."

It seems extraordinary that one so learned and able as Dr. Lightfoot should be unconscious, that his idea of an apostolic sanction of episcopacy is clearly irreconcilable with the testimony of Jerome and Augustine; that *custom*, and *not* apostolic "sanction" is the source of prelacy. Dr. Lightfoot repeatedly quotes Jerome's assertion (which however Jerome proves by the Acts and Paul's epistles) with acquiescence and approbation. *He* (Dr. Lightfoot) has no trouble with the most learned of the Latin Fathers, such as Hooker had, who actually gives up the reconciliation of Jerome with an apostolic

prelacy in despair; though the fact had strangely escaped the observation of Churchmen for two centuries, till Dr. M'Crie drew attention to it, who drily remarked, as he did so, that though Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" was the text-book by which bishops examined candidates, the fact did not prove that either the bishops, or those aspiring to be priests, if not prelates, were readers of their oracle. In Keble's edition of the great bulwark of Anglicanism, we find at last the sad sentence enclosed in brackets, but no attempt to erase the blot. *Stetit et stabit.*

IV. Our fourth witness is HERMAS, the apostolic Bunyan, the contemporary of Clement of Rome, and author of the "Shepherd," reported by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and Jerome, and others of the Fathers, as the same with the Hermas mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14.)—Hermas, I say, writing *very* early in the second century, is a clear witness to the fact that, in his day, the government of the Church was by presbyters. He thus confirms all the preceding witnesses. In (B. i. Vis. ii. c. 4), Hermas is commanded to "write two books, and to send one to Clement, etc. "But you will read the words in this city with the *elders who preside over the Church.*" In Vis. iii. 9, he warns "those who preside over the Church, and love the first seats," not to be "drug-mixers," which, taken in connection with what follows, seems to imply that the poison of ambition was working in the hearts of the presbyters, who, like the twelve apostles before Pentecost, were contending which should be the greatest! Here we have prelacy in its beginning.

This seems very strikingly confirmed by what we find in COMMAND XI. "He pointed out to me some men sit-

ting on a bench (*subsellium*),* and one man sitting on a chair (*cathedra*); and he says to me, 'Do you see the persons sitting on the bench?' 'I do, sir,' said I. 'These,' says he, 'are the faithful; and he who sits on the chair is a false prophet, ruining the souls of his brethren. Some true words he does occasionally utter.'" Here we see "the false prophet," "the wolf," predicted by Christ, and Paul, and Peter, and John, sitting in the chair—the prelate's throne; while those who were as yet faithful were sitting on a bench, but whose minds were being ruined, even by the true words which the false prophet spoke. It is clear, then, that the strife in the preceding quotation had ended in the elevation of the false prophet to the throne of the prelate, and that he did not gain his "bad eminence" without speaking "some good words." These concealed the "drug-poison" that was ruining the souls of the enslaved presbyters. The "good words" of the chairman "had deceived the hearts of the simple," as Paul warned the Romans there was a danger from those "who made divisions;" the "bondmen to their bellies," and "not to Christ." Those who have spoken most against schismatics have been always the greatest schism-makers.

Dr. Lightfoot's treatment of Hermas is very singular. He merely takes a small part of the striking picture of the faithful men on the bench, and the false prophet on the prelate's throne; and, after one or two equally brief references to other passages, winds up thus: "If we could accept the suggestion that, in this class of passages, the writer condemns the ambition which aimed at transforming the Presbyterian into the Episcopal form of

* Drs. Roberts, etc., translate "subsellium," *seat*, which would be *sedes*. "Subsellium" is a low seat, or bench. Nor is this unimportant. It marks the contrast between the debased presbyter and the prelate.

government, we should have arrived at a solution of the difficulty; but the rebukes are couched in the most general terms, and apply at least as well to the ambitious pursuit of existing *offices* as to the arrogant assertion of a hitherto unrecognized power. This clue failing us, the notices in the Shepherd are in themselves too vague to lead to any definite result," pp. 217, 218.

In the striking passage which I quote from Command XI., and which Dr. Lightfoot touches so lightly, the language is not vague, but very precise. He does not condemn the ambitious pursuit of existing *offices* (that he *had* done already in our previous quotation); he condemns the sitter in the prelate's chair—the "false prophet" who had already got the faithful men down on the bench. The "clue" does not seem to fail the Doctor. Does he not drop it when it is leading him away from prelacy? Dissatisfied at leaving the matter so uncertain, he winds up thus: "Were it not known that the writer's own brother was Bishop of Rome, we should be at a loss what to say about the constitution of the Roman Church in his day." Hermas' brother is said to have been Pius of Rome; and, though I do not believe Pius was Hermas' brother, I am prepared to prove he was *not* Bishop of Rome in Dr. Lightfoot's sense. In short,

V. Pius of Rome, whom Romanists call Pius I., is my fifth witness to the apostolic presbytery. Eusebius has preserved two letters from Pius to Justus, Episcopus Viennensis (overseer of the Church of Vienne), which demonstrate that that Church was not prelatic. How does Pius address Justus? He congratulates him on having been clothed with the epilobium—the sleeveless coat of the overseers, and on having been appointed by the brethren to the place of Verus in the eldership of Vienne. But that this post was merely that of a Pres-

byterian pastor is clear from what he says of elders (presbyters), as those who, having been educated by the apostles, have come down even to us. He has not one word about a superior order of prelates having come down from the apostles.

This is demonstrated by what is said in the second letter: "Let the elders and deacons respect thee, *not as greater,* but as a servant of Christ." Now, it is clear, if Justus was of a higher order than the elders, they were bound to honour him as *greater.* Therefore Dr. Lightfoot is mistaken in saying it is "known that" Pius "was Bishop of Rome." If we may believe Prelate Eusebius, we are sure he was not. This we may surely infer from his own words. Our inference is confirmed by Irenæus' letter to Victor, a successor of Pius, in which he speaks of the *presbyters,* Victor's predecessors, who had come down from the apostles; he mentions Pius along with Anicetus. Had he even called them *overseers* (episcopos), or bishops, it would have proved nothing for prelacy, unless it could have been shown that Pius was not speaking like the Apostle Paul, but like Prelate Eusebius. Before leaving the reputed brother of Hermas, I would add that we have no reason to believe the false prophets were general in the Church in the days of Hermas because he denounces "the false prophet who seemed to have the Spirit." He seems rather to have detected one of those symptoms of the apostasy which Paul and John discerned even in their day. I infer this from the high tone of Christian morality which distinguished the Churches in the first age after the apostles. The learned Mosheim well observes: "The first two centuries were the golden age of Christianity." And I believe it can be shown that during these ages prelacy was unknown.

We have no finer description of primitive Christian morality than the letter to Diognetus. This has been ordinarily bound up with the writings of Justin Martyr; but it is now regarded as having been written by some earlier disciple. Whoever was the writer, he was a noble witness of the Lord; and, "though dead, yet speaketh." He is our sixth witness, if not of the government of the apostolic churches, at least of the morality which was fostered by that government, and by which that government was fostered.

VI. The writer to Diognetus thus describes (c. v.) the manners of the Christians: "Christians are distinguished from other men, neither by country nor language, nor the customs which they observe; for they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is distinguished by any peculiarity. The course of conduct which they follow, has not been devised by any speculation, or deliberation of inquisitive men; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But inhabiting Greek as well as Barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives as to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly paradoxical method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry as all do. They beget children; but they do not destroy them. They have a common table; but not a common bed. They are in the flesh; but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth; but are citizens

of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and, at the same time, surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and condemned; they are put to death, and restored to life. They are poor, yet make many rich; they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all; they are dishonoured, and yet in their very dishonour they are glorified. They are evil spoken of, and yet are justified; they are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour; they do good, and yet are punished as evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice as quickened into life. They are assailed by the Jews as foreigners, and are persecuted by the Greeks; yet those who hate them, are unable to assign any reason for their hatred."

If the letter to Diognetus contains no information concerning the government of the Church, such heavenly order as it sets forth, proves that the government must have been efficient, and that the wolves were as yet kept outside; the Jews and Gentiles might tear the outside, but the heart of the Church was untouched. "Your heart shall live for ever."

VII. Our seventh witness is Justin Martyr, who wrote about the middle of the second century, and received his surname from his martyrdom, under Marcus Aurelius, about 165. He thus describes the weekly worship of the Christians: (1 Apology, c. 67), "And we afterwards continually remind each other of these things," (he had been giving an account of the Lord's Supper; thus showing that, with primitive Christians, the most interesting of all subjects, was the central truth of Christianity—the death of Christ), "and the wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together; and for all things with which we are supported, we bless the Maker of all, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through

the Holy Spirit. And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities, or in the country, come together in one place, and the memoirs of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read, as long as the time permits; then when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread, and wine and water, are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given; and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in fine, takes care of all who are in need."

Here we have neither prelate nor prayer-book, nor formal written discourse; but a president, acting as a true shepherd of the flock, instructing all, watching over all, blessing all. Here we behold "the communion of saints," indeed, of which we hear so much and see so little; the rich man helping the poor brother, but always honouring him as one of an immortal family, all the liker their Lord for his poverty, and no less on that account, "a king and priest to God even the Father."

VIII. Our next witness is Irenæus.* Dr. Roberts says: "It is certain that Irenæus was Bishop of Lyons in France, during the latter quarter of the second century."

* I use Massuet's edition of Grabe. Parisiis, 1710, fol.

I have no doubt about the correctness of the Doctor's chronology, but I more than doubt—I deny the prelacy of Irenæus, and if Dr. Roberts does not believe in Irenæus as a prelate, he should not speak, now-a-days, of the certainty of his having been a *bishop*. Taking then the translation edited by Dr. Roberts, and which I will not change, unless the original, in my judgment, demands a change, we find Irenæus (Book III. c. 2. 2.), writing: "the tradition which originates from the apostles (and) which is preserved by means of the successions of elders (presbyters) in the churches." Again, we find (B. III. c. 3. 1.), "We are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted *bishops** in the churches." In these two places we find Irenæus using the two terms elder and overseer (presbyter and bishop) as synonymous; just as Luke and Paul do in Acts xx., and as the apostle does in Tit. i.

The same fact, vital in this discussion, is clear in B. IV. c. 26. 2, 3: "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters, who are in the church, who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown, who with the succession of the oversight (*episcopatus*), have also received the sure grace of truth." I object to transferring "*episcopatus*" by *episcopate*, because the word is only used in English, to express the office of a prelate. And though the connection clearly shows, it is the office of the elder or presbyter, that is meant by episcopate, still it is well to avoid all risk of confusion and mistake. In one passage Dr. Roberts puts "oversight" in the margin to explain episcopate. It is best however always to use a word, if possible, that explains itself. Irenæus adds in the same paragraph: "But we should hold in suspicion those who have departed from the primitive succession."

* Overseers (*episcopos*).

Nothing can be plainer, than that Irenæus places the true apostolic succession in presbyters (elders), and that those who place that succession in prelates, an office which Irenæus never mentions, are, according to that father, "just objects of suspicion." Those, who affected superiority to the presbyters, he denounces, in the next paragraph (3), in these remarkable words: "These, however, who are believed to be presbyters by many, but serve their own lusts, and do not place the fear of God supreme in their hearts, but conduct themselves with contempt towards others, and are puffed up with the pride of holding the chief seat, and work evil deeds in secret" (apparently following the lascivious ways predicted by Peter and Jude), "saying: No man sees, shall be convicted by the word."

"4. From all such persons, therefore, it behoves us to keep aloof, but to adhere to those, who, as I have already observed, do hold the doctrine of the apostles, and who, together with the order of the eldership* (*presbyterii ordine*) display sound speech, and blameless conduct."

If, therefore, we obey Father Irenæus, it is impossible for us to have anything to do with the Church of England, for it has allowed the prelates, an order unknown to the apostles, to usurp the government of the churches, intrusted by the apostles to presbyters alone, and, in defiance of the word of Peter (1 Pet. v. 1, 2), and the example of Paul (Acts xiv. 23), and the Spirit

* Here I have changed but one word of Dr. Roberts' version. I have put *eldership* for "priesthood." I might have transferred the Latin by *presbytery*, as Dr. Lightfoot does. The meaning is the same. But what authority has Dr. Roberts for translating it priesthood? In his system of ecclesiastical polity a priest has no place. John Knox was a priest before his eyes were opened; but after God brought him out of Babylon, he would not tolerate the title. How then does Dr. Roberts allow the presbytery to become the *priesthood?*

by whom they wrote, to lord it over God's heritage, by sending whom they please into the parishes, to trample down the right of election, bestowed by Christ, through his apostles, on every "congregation of faithful men."

It may be said, however, that in § 3, Irenæus acknowledges "the first *seat*." Does not this imply there was one, in his day, who presided over the presbyters? Undoubtedly; just as there is in every Presbyterian church. But the proud, profligate, "*puffed up*," temper of some of the presidents, is denounced by Irenæus. The fatal germ of prelacy was even then showing itself to his penetrating eye. He tried to kill it, but failed. The "difficult times" predicted by Paul (2 Tim. iii.), were "setting in."

Irenæus is here, therefore, the echo of Hermas. He has his eye on the ambitious presbyter striving for the chief place, and polluting it after gaining it, and warns us off from him, if, along with his eldership, he does not display sound speech. "Bishop" Irenæus surely speaks here very like a humble and wise presbyter.

How then does he say (B. III. 14. 2), "For when the bishops and presbyters, who came from Ephesus AND THE OTHER CITIES ADJOINING, had assembled in Miletus," etc.? Irenæus never wrote such an impudent perversion of the word of Luke (Acts xx.). This is an audacious interpolation of the prelatists—a palpable print of the paw of the wolf.

Let us hear the candid Dr. Alford (v. ii. 209): "Here we see (1) the two, bishops and presbyters, distinguished, as if *both* were sent for, in order that the titles might not seem to belong to the same persons; and (2) other neighbouring churches also brought in, in order that there might not seem to be ἐπίσκοποι in one church only. So early did inte-

rested disingenuous interpolations begin to cloud the light, which Scripture might have thrown on ecclesiastical questions. The E. V. (English version) has hardly dealt fairly in this case with the sacred text, in rendering ἐπισκόπους, v. 28, *overseers*, whereas it ought there, as in all other places, to have been BISHOPS, that the fact of *elders* and *bishops having been originally and apostolically synonymous*, might be apparent to the ordinary English reader, which now it is not." This testimony is true, and very honourable to him who offers it. Yes, that great vital fact, of the identity of the apostolic presbyter and bishop, is concealed. The concealment is a trap, like "*the office of a bishop*," in 1 Tim. iii. 1. (See Alford *in loco*.)

But one more hierarchical corruption of Irenæus. The print of the great wolf of Rome is very visible in (B. III. c. 3. 2, 3) "The very ancient and universally-known Church, founded and organized at Rome, by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; as also the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority" (*potiorem principalitatem*). "The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate." *

His Grace of Canterbury handles this ticklish passage very warily. He takes so much of it as makes Linus Bishop of Rome, asserting him to be the same with the Linus mentioned by Paul (2 Tim. iv. 21), and thus connecting Roman episcopacy with apostolic authority. His Grace thus keeps himself in countenance;

* *Episcopate* here is the proper word: as the whole context has been foisted in by the prelates.

but he says not one word about Pius IX.th's supremacy. Dr. Lightfoot, in quoting the passage, p. 226, is as discreet as his primate.

Dr. Lightfoot quotes all the passages above detailed from Irenæus, and thinks they show, that the presbyter of Lyons, however ready to call a bishop a presbyter, never calls a presbyter a bishop. But this is mere assertion, without a shadow of proof, and hazarded for no purpose but to get rid of those troublesome declarations of the Father. In order to give some colour to his assertion, the Doctor ventures on another, still more extraordinary. He maintains that Irenæus was entirely ignorant of the apostolic identity of presbyter and bishop. Both assertions vanish on a calm examination of B. III. c. 2. 2., where Irenæus declares, that the apostles had established presbyters in the churches; and a little below (c. 3. 1.) that they had established bishops. Were these bishops not the very same persons as the presbyters? And does he not just as plainly call the presbyters bishops, as the bishops presbyters? Had not this acute and learned adversary of the heretics the Acts of the Apostles in his hands, as well as the pastoral epistles? What a compliment does the Doctor pay Irenæus, to suppose him so stupid as not to discern what was so plain to Jerome as well as himself!

What seems most extraordinary of all, is the fact, that Dr. Lightfoot makes these assumptions without any adequate result. For, after all, he gives up Irenæus as an assertor of episcopacy. The essence of that system is, that there are *three* orders of ministers in the Church. Now he expressly admits, that Irenæus does not hold these *orders*. P. 226, he says: "He (Irenæus) does not regard it (the episcopate) as a distinct order, in the same sense in which the diaconate is a distinct order." If Irenæus

did not regard the episcopate as an order distinct from the presbyter, what was the distinction? "He views the episcopate as a distinct *office* from the presbyter." Precisely, he was a Presbyterian then; for Presbyterians regard the pastorate, the overseership, the *episcopate* (for, as Dr. Lightfoot well knows, that, originally Greek, word, means nothing but *overseership*) as a distinct office from that of the ordinary presbyter. The pastor and elder do not belong to distinct *orders*, but the *offices* are distinct. Our ninth witness is

IX. CLEMENT of Alexandria. He wrote about the beginning of the third century; and is clear in his testimony to the two-fold ministry, of presbyters and deacons. In his "Stromata," or "Miscellanies" (B. VII. 1), he says: "In most things there are two sorts of ministry, the one higher, the other inferior." And, comparing philosophy and medicine, he gives the preference to the former as serving the soul, while medicine is concerned with the body, and adds: "just so in the Church, the presbyters have the nobler ministry, the deacons the serving one.

So in B. VI. 13, he recognizes only a two-fold ministry. "This (speaking of the perfect man), is indeed a presbyter of the Church, and a true servant (deacon) of the will of God, if he do and teach the things of the Lord; not as being chosen by men, nor reputed just because a presbyter, but, counted in the presbytery, because just; and if, here on earth, he is not honoured with the first seat," etc. While this is conclusive as to the two-fold ministry, it plainly implies that there was then a first seat in the presbytery, answering to the universal arrangement in Presbyterian churches. We find, however, that the presbyters of Alexandria chose their own president, while in all Presbyterian churches, really free

and worthy of the name, the president, as well as the other presbyters, is chosen by the congregation.

Dr. Lightfoot finds it necessary to charge one of the most learned Greek Fathers with ignorance, as he had, Irenæus, of the scriptural identity of bishop and presbyter. He quotes the "Pædagogue" (iii. 12): "Ten thousand such suggestions are written in the Holy Books belonging to chosen persons, some to presbyters, some to bishops, some to deacons," etc. The Doctor thinks we have here three orders; though he allows Irenæus does not make three orders, merely because he mentions bishops along with presbyters. The charge of ignorance in Clement's case, is just as futile, as in that of Irenæus; nay, more so, since in referring to Titus i. 6. (Strom. iii. 18), Clement speaks "of the bishop ruling his own house well." How very singular that Dr. Lightfoot should suppose that Clement could not understand Paul's Greek, as well as himself or Jerome, and perceive that the bishop of the seventh verse, is the presbyter of the fifth.

There is no difficulty about the double title belonging to one order, any more than there is in regard to the pastors and teachers of Eph. iv. 11. Dr. Lightfoot allows this double title may belong to one order, under a two-fold aspect. Why should he suppose it different here, unless it is, that the interests of his "all-important" institution are too nearly concerned? So much for the famous presbyter of Alexandria. Let us now see how the matter stands with the equally famous presbyter of Carthage, TERTULLIAN, our tenth witness for apostolic presbytery.

X. This remarkable man was a contemporary of Clement of Alexandria. In his treatise on "Repentance" (c. ix.) he declares, that one of the actions which the penitent

ought to perform, is "to roll at the feet of the presbyters." So far from there being here any recognition of what we call a bishop, there is not even a reference to a chairman of the body, such as Presbyterians call a moderator.

In writing to his wife against second marriages (B. I. 7), he says, the apostle "suffers not men twice married to preside" (over a church); evidently referring to 1 Tim. iii. 2, and Tit. i—6. Of course, he is speaking of the Pauline presbyters, bishops, or overseers. But, then, Dr. Lightfoot insists in Tertullian's case, as in those of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, that he was actually ignorant of the identity of office expressed by these names. The Doctor is again driven to this extraordinary assertion by the necessities of his position, that episcopacy dates from the *beginning* of the second century, and must have been sanctioned by the Apostle John. He wavers, however, very much in his tone as if he did not feel sure of his ground. Page 204 he says: "So important an institution could hardly have grown up without his sanction;" but, then, in the next page, he allows: "There is no reason to suppose any direct ordinance was issued to the churches." But if the institution was so "important," so "all-important," as he afterwards calls it, why should John not have issued a direct ordinance?

Before concluding his dissertation, however, Dr. Lightfoot gathers more courage. Page 232 he writes: "It has been seen, that the institution of an episcopate must be placed as far back as the closing years of the first century, and that it cannot, without violence to historical testimony, be dissevered from the name of John." *Where* has this been seen? *Where* is the historical testimony? *How* has John's name been shown to be connected with episcopacy? Do not Jerome and Augustine virtually deny

it, and does not Dr. Lightfoot again and again concur with them? The author is very liberal of his marginal references, but here, we have not one.

Dr. Lightfoot allows that: probably Clement of Rome's letter was written in the last decade of the first century. It contains no hint of episcopacy. He distinctly states, p. 96, that, "Overseer or bishop and elder or presbyter are there still identified." As he prefers the later date of the letter (A.D. 97), he must suppose Clement was in the dark about the rise of episcopacy "in the closing years of the first century." And yet he repeatedly declares that the rise of the institution must have been gradual. Still, seemingly forgetting all about Clement, he will have it, that with the opening of the second century a new phraseology begins with *St.* Ignatius' letters. At the very moment that Clement is using bishop and presbyter as synonymous, Bishop Ignatius all at once finds out that he is of a higher order than Presbyter Clement! Good Father Ignatius! Illustrious martyr! How hath thy good name been abused! The lions soon devoured thy body: for ages, the wolves of the hierarchy have been feeding on thy reputation. Probably, the statement in Tertullian's work against Marcion (B. IV. 5) may be what Dr. Lightfoot has in his mind in the above assertion: "We have John's foster churches. For though Marcion rejects the Apocalypse, the order of bishops, when traced up to their origin, will yet rest on John as their author. In the same manner is recognized the noble descent* of the other churches." That is, the apostolic churches were all put under bishops. But we know that the apostolic bishops were presbyters. Paul and Barnabas appointed, by *popular election,* presbyters (elders) in every city; and Paul addresses the elders of

* *Generositas.* I prefer this to the "excellent source" of Dr. Holmes.

Ephesus, one of the seven churches of Asia, as bishops. Had not Tertullian the Acts of the Apostles in his hands? Had he not the Epistles to Timothy and Titus? Had he not the sense to understand what was before his eyes: that Paul called the presbyters of Ephesus bishops, and that the presbyters of the 5th verse of Titus i. were the very same persons as the bishops of the seventh? The prelatists make a great stir about the Fathers, and has it come to this, that they will not allow three of the very best of them, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, to have had common sense? Dr. Lightfoot must make another effort, if prelacy is to make good its stand in the "difficult times" which have set in.

Now, it is manifest, Tertullian puts the foster churches of John under the same government as the other churches of the apostles. These, we know, were ruled by elders. Of course, Tertullian declares the same of John's churches. As to the fancy that the angels of the seven churches were seven prelates, Dr. Lightfoot expressly rejects it, p. 197, "*The angels in the Apocalypse not bishops.*"

However, I am far from denying, that Tertullian mentions bishops as well as presbyters and deacons. Supposing the enumeration genuine, and that bishop, in such connection, has not been slipped in by some hierarchical forger; still, it only shows that churches were ruled by elders and presidents—an arrangement seen in every Presbyterian church—*but in no Anglican one.*

Before dismissing the testimony of the eloquent presbyter of Carthage, let us hear him, at some length, on the condition of the Church at the close of the second century. At the 39th chapter of his Apology we find him thus expressing himself: "I shall at once go on then to exhibit the peculiarities of the Christian society,

that as I have reported the evil charged against it, I may point out its positive good. We* are a body in regard to a consciousness of obligation, and a unity of discipline, and a covenant of hope. We meet together as an assembly and congregation, that offering up prayer to God, as with united force, we may wrestle with Him in our supplication. This violence God delights in. We pray too for the emperors, for their ministers, and for all in authority, for the welfare of the world, for the prevalence of peace, for the delay of the end.† We assemble to read our sacred writings, if any peculiarity of the times makes either forewarning or reminiscence needful. Certainly,‡ with the sacred words we nourish our faith, we animate our hope, we make our confidence more steadfast, and no less by inculcation of God's precepts, we confirm good habits. In the same place also exhortations are made, rebukes and sacred censures are administered. For, with a great gravity, is the work of judging carried on among us, as befits those who feel assured they are in the sight of God; and have the most notable example of judgment to come, when any one has sinned so grievously as to require severance from us in prayer, and the meeting, and all sacred intercourse. The tried men of our elders preside over us, having obtained that honour not by purchase, but by established character. There is no buying or selling, of any sort, in the things of God. Though we have our treasure-chest, it

* "Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate, et spei foedere."—Tertullian's Apolog., p. 68. Pam. Edit. fol.

Dr. Holmes translates: "We are a body knit together as such by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by a band of common hope."—Drs. R. and D. An. Lib. Tert., Vol. i. pp. 118, 119.

† Dr. H. Final consummation (finis).

‡ Certe. Dr. H. "However it be in that respect."

is not made up of purchase-money, as of a religion that has its price. On the monthly collection day, every one, if he likes, puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent in feasts, and drinking bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such as have suffered shipwreck; and if there happen to be any who are in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons, for nothing but their fidelity to the cause of God's Church, they become the nurslings of their confession. But it is mainly the deeds of a love so noble that lead many to put a mark on us. See, say they, how they love one another (for themselves are animated by mutual hatred), how they are ready even to die for one another; for they themselves will sooner be put to death. And they are wroth with us too, because we call each other brethren; for no other reason as I think, but because names of consanguinity are assumed, among them, in mere pretence of affection. But we are your brethren as well, by our common mother nature, though you are hardly men, because brethren so unkind."

There are many things in this long passage which invite remark. We notice one or two:

1st. There was, as yet, no bishop* in the Church of

* Dr. Schaff (Vol. iii. p. 612) tells us, that Irenæus and Tertullian did not appeal to Scripture alone, but had "recourse at the same time to TRADITION, as preserved from the apostles through the unbroken succession of the bishops." The Episcopalians must be delighted with this and many kindred passages. If, by "the bishops," Dr. Schaff means the *presbyters*, as Paul and Irenæus and Tertullian meant, what he says is true; but then he is, unintentionally no doubt, misleading the common modern reader.

Carthage. The rulers were tried elders, and the members were a body knit together by unity of discipline. Where is the unity, where is the discipline in the parishes of England, with our lordly prelates, and, their nominees, the priests? When Tertullian, and his brother elders, judged the transgressors, it was a most notable example of a judgment to come. When did our bishops' courts exhibit such a spectacle?

2nd. The elders did not obtain their honour by *purchase, but by established character.* Can our advowson mongers say as much?

3rd. How was the Church supported? By tithes? by the strong arm of the law? Nay! says Tertullian: *all is voluntary.* This divine principle is enforced, and reiterated, in four different forms, as if the good Father believed all depended on maintaining it. My Lord of Canterbury forgot this, last session, when, from his "pride of place," he flung a stone at the Voluntaryism of the Free Church. The stone, however, came back, and many more came along with it; and surely there are myriads yet to come. Well may his Grace warn his Church, that they have entered on "difficult times." And the "difficult times" will never cease, while they forget Tertullian's—nay, Christ's law of voluntary action.

4th. With "piety's deposit fund," Tertullian needed no poor-law to provide for the destitute, to nourish his orphans, to comfort the aged, to succour the wrecked, to

Bishop, now-a-days, only means *prelate.* It is impossible Dr. Schaff can mean to assert that there had been an unbroken succession of *prelates* from the apostles down to the times of Irenæus and Tertullian. But if he does not mean this, what *does* he mean? Besides, what is the tradition of which Irenæus and Tertullian speak but the tradition of presbytery? And how could they know that the government which they saw established in the churches of Lyons and Carthage was an apostolic tradition, except by Acts xiv. 23, and the pastoral epistles?

visit the prisoners for Christ and his Church. This was a new spectacle in this miserable world. The Pagans living in mutual malice were confounded. The wolves, predicted by Christ and his apostles, had not yet broken into the Church. They were all outside. Well might Tertullian say: They were hardly men; though with the heart of his Master and their Father, he owned them as "brethren of mother nature."

So far as we have gone, then, we have not met with the wolves *in* the Church. The presbyters from John and Polycarp to Tertullian were true pastors of the "flock of God."

XI. BUT NOW THE SCENE CHANGES. Fifty years after Tertullian, Cyprian became a presbyter in that same Church of Carthage; and soon, by his eloquence, nobleness of character, business capacity, and great ambition, obtained an ascendency, not merely over his brother presbyters, but throughout the churches of North Africa. High churchmen, whether Romanists or Anglicans, hold up Cyprian as the master spirit who paved the way for the final triumph of prelacy. True, Pope Stephen I. excommunicated Cyprian; still, he is St. Cyprian, and worshipped by the Romanists. True, Bishop Cyprian did nothing of consequence without consulting his presbyters, as well as the Church. Our bishops do neither; yet they appeal to Cyprian. Let us then listen to his testimony, in regard to his method of dealing with his presbyters. The prelatists cannot object to their great oracle.

When Cyprian was hiding from persecution, he thus addresses his presbyters (5th letter): "Since distance does not allow me now to be present, I entreat you, according to your faith and piety, discharge there" (in Carthage) "both your functions and mine, that nothing may be wanting either in regard to discipline or diligence."

Cyprian, here, *entreats* his presbyters, to discharge *his* functions, as well as their own. Ordination and confirmation are the two great functions, which bishops arrogate, as belonging, to themselves alone. If Cyprian claimed these, when in his chair, as belonging only to himself, he, now, clearly beseeches the presbyters to take them in hand. Such seasonable and becoming humility, however, are, it seems, very unseemly in the eyes of some prelatists; for I find the Abbe Migne* gives us a form of the letter, which Dr. Wallis, of Wells Cathedral, renders thus: (Lib. Ante. N. Fathers). "2. *Relying, therefore, on your love and your piety, which I have abundantly known, in this letter I both exhort and command you, that those of you whose presence* there *is least suspicious and least perilous,* should *in my stead* discharge my duty, *in respect of doing those things* which are required for the religious administration." The italics are mine, and mark Dr. Wallis' words: not one is Cyprian's. Of course most of Cyprian's are omitted. This is very bold forgery. Of course, not the slightest charge is brought against Dr. Wallis. He merely translates Migne. Cyprian simply, like Paul, *entreats, "peto."* Abbe Migne's forger does

* It is this edition, that Drs. Roberts and Donaldson give us, in the translation which they are editing. It is a striking proof of the dishonesty which has everywhere, more or less, tainted the sources of ecclesiastical history, that this letter should have been so tampered with. Nor is it this one alone that has suffered. Abbe Migne's eleventh letter wholly omits the passage which I quote lower down. The edition which I use is Dr. Fell's (Oxford, fol.) Indeed, it is hard to tell how far forgery has been at work on Cyprian's letters, as well as on his other works. Mr. Shepherd has boldly (for it required no common boldness in an *Anglican* incumbent) denied the genuineness of most of those letters. It is curious to observe the silence which has been kept on Mr. Shepherd's letters. Two curt, slighting, anonymous, notices are all that have been elicited. Probably, Milman alludes to him in a note; but he does not name him. Dr. Lightfoot also seems to make a similar allusion. The subject is clearly a very delicate one.

not think this humility becoming in a prelate writing to his presbyters; so he makes him say: "I *both exhort and command.*" Then Cyprian entreats them to discharge *his* functions as well as their own. The forger says nothing of their duties, and limits Cyprian's to doing those things, merely, "*which are required for the religious administration.*" That is, I suppose, "you may preach, and pray, and baptize, and break the bread, but beware how you presume to *ordain* or *confirm.*"

Let us also take Cyprian's testimony regarding the morals of the Church, both as to minister and people. In the treatise on the "Lapsed,"* that is, those who had fallen into idolatry in the time of persecution, he describes (chap. vi.) the state of the Church, which, he says, was the cause of the trial: "Each one was desirous of increasing his estate; and, forgetful of what believers had either done in the times of apostles, or always ought to do, they, with insatiable ardour of covetousness, devoted themselves to the increase of their property. Among the priests there was no devotedness of religion; among the ministers there was no sound faith; in their works there was no mercy; in their manners there was no discipline. In men, their beards were defaced; in

* The forgers have been busy with this treatise. At pp. 368—9. of Dr. Wallis' vol. of Cyprian (vol. viii. of Drs. Roberts' and Donaldson's A. F.), we have a tissue of glaring absurdities palmed on Cyprian: *e. g.*, A man stole a bit of communion bread, and found it changed into a cinder in his hand! Dr. Wallis really believes that Cyprian saw (or *fancied* he saw), and of course believed, such nonsense. Dean Milman too in his (Hist. of Ch., v. ii. p. 190, *note* 6), says: "In what a high-wrought state of enthusiasm must men have been, who could relate and believe such statements as miraculous." It is very significant how uncritical the prelatists are about these matters. They do take great liberties with the character of the Fathers, of whom they talk so much. At all events, we are safe in trusting the integrity of Cyprian and his writings, when they confess *his* sins, and the still more flagrant ones of his brother bishops.

women, their complexion was dyed; their eyes were falsified from what God's hand had made them; their hair was stained with a falsehood. Crafty frauds were used to deceive the hearts of the simple, subtle meanings for circumventing the brethren. They united in the bond of marriage with unbelievers; they prostituted the members of Christ to the Gentiles. They would not only swear rashly, but even more, they would swear falsely; would despise those set over them with haughty swelling; would speak evil of one another with envenomed tongue; would quarrel with one another with obstinate hatred. Very many bishops, who should furnish both exhortation and example to others, despising their divine charge, became agents in secular business, forsook their thrones, deserted their people, wandered about over foreign provinces, hunted the markets for gainful merchandise. Brethren starving in the Church they did not succour. They sought to possess money in hoards, they seized estates by crafty deceits, they increased their gains by multiplying usuries."

The fondness for money on the part of the bishops, denounced by Cyprian, and, as we shall find by Gregory Nazianzen, is still characteristic apparently of the order of bishops. During the debates on the Irish Church, there was not one occupant of the bench, who did not insist on increasing Mr. Gladstone's lavish liberality.

Now let Cyprian's awful picture be compared with Tertullian's; let the president elder of the latter, caring for all, be contrasted with Cyprian's bishop, hunting the markets of the world for gold, heaping it in hoards, snatching estates by tricks, while the brethren of the Church were starving. Were they not the very men, predicted by Paul, who, rising out of the body of the presbyters, were to be transformed into wolves? It is

equally clear that the churches were too like their bishops, being filled with rapacity and fraud "envenomed tongues and obstinate quarrels." The Pagans, looking at the Christians, could no longer say, as in Tertullian's days: "See, how the Christians love one another!" If they said anything, would it not be? "Ah, these Christians, see how they are robbing and tearing one another!" It is clear, the apostasy had set in. *The wolves were* IN *the churches at last.* It is of little moment to decide, whether the corruption of the churches produced the bishops, or the bishops the corruption. It is very plain they throve together, and were at once cause and effect.

Let us listen to this illustrious bishop and martyr once more. Addressing his Church, in his eleventh letter, when he was concealing himself from persecution, he says: "It must be understood and confessed, that the outrageous and heavy calamity which hath, in very great measure, laid waste our flock, and continues to lay it waste to this day, hath happened to us because of our sins, since we keep not the way of the Lord, nor observe his heaveuly commands, which were designed to lead us to salvation. Christ, our Lord, fulfilled the will of his Father, but we neglect the will of the Lord. Our principal study is to get money and estates; we follow after pride; we are at leisure for nothing but emulation and quarrelling, and have neglected the simplicity of the faith. We have renounced the world in words only, not in deeds. Every one studies to please himself and to displease others."*

"Our principal study is to get money and estates." The very complaint that Charles II. made of Sheldon, Ward, and the rest of his bishops. I will not say Cyprian means to accuse the bishops alone. But, surely,

* Suppressed by Abbe Migne, who is translated by Vicar Wallis (Ant. N. Fath.)

he does not mean to except them; when the fact was the bishops were rolling in wealth. As he was now driven from his throne, probably adversity opened his eyes to the mischiefs of episcopal splendour. We cannot tell whether such an effect was permanent, supposing it was produced. History says he returned once more to his palace, for he was taken from his gardens to the block.

"We follow after pride," says Cyprian. He found it out, when persecution was on him. Pride is the besetting sin of the rich and powerful; and, therefore, of bishops. "Charge them who are rich in the present age," says Paul to Timothy (1. Ep. vi. 6—7.), "that they be not highminded;" and again, "They that are wishing* to be rich, are falling into a temptation and a snare, and many foolish and hurtful lusts, that engulph *the*† men" (the men that are wishing to be rich), "in ruin and perdition: for *a*‡ root of all *the*† mischiefs" (those mentioned above) "is the love of money, which some reaching after, wandered away from the faith, and pierced themselves all§ over with many pangs. But thou, O man of God, these things do thou flee, and pursue || righteousness, godliness, faith, love, endurance, gentleness."¶

* βουλ. † τῶν. ‡ anarthous. § περιε. || διωκ.

¶ Bishop Ellicot, Dean Alford, and Mr. S. Green, all agree more or less, in altering the English version in this remarkable passage. They all agree, however, in rejecting the definite article before "*men*;" thus representing men as universally ruined by avarice: Green even translating τωv ανθ. "*mankind*." All the foreign versions which I have consulted recognize the article. However, the passage, even as it stands in the English Bible, is an ominous one to this money-loving age; and even our bishops would do well to study it. If the debates on the Irish Church Bill did not prove them to be lovers of money, there was, at all events, an appearance of something, which has probably stumbled too many everywhere. Dr. Ellicot has a very high reputation for Grecian learning; and I have no doubt he deserves it. He seems, however, to cherish such a veneration for King James' revision as to be almost incapacitated for touching it effectually.

Yet the prelatists will have it, that Paul made Timothy a bishop. At all events he was determiued he should not be a rich one, and, we may be sure, if our bishops were not rich, there would not be so many reaching after bishoprics.

"We have leisure for nothing but quarrelling," says Cyprian. This is one of the many foolish and hurtful lusts, which the love of money invariably engenders. Avarice has led to more murders than any other passion. It is plain, then, from Cyprian's honest, extorted confession, this degrading lust had filled the churches with wolves.

Cyprian's confession has been an awkward one for the bishops, and we look for it in vain in Dr. Wallis' translation, which follows Abbe Migne's. See note, p. 52.

Dean Jortin tries to make his reader smile at Cyprian's supposed exaggeration. But there is no ground for such an insinuation, for things became worse and worse, so that, in regard to the times that followed, we find Eusebius declaring, in his "History" (B. VIII. 1): "But when, from too much liberty, we sunk into negligence and sloth; when we had begun to envy and reproach one another; when we were carrying on, as it were, intestine wars among ourselves, mutually wounding each other with words as with weapons and spears; when leaders struggling with leaders, and people with people, were stirring up quarrels and tumults; in fine, when fraud and hypocrisy had grown to the highest pitch of wickedness: then divine vengeance, with light arm as usual, the state of the churches being yet entire, and crowds of the faithful freely assembling, began sensibly and gradually to call us to account, persecution having first begun with the soldiery. When, indeed, destitute of all feeling, we were not even thinking of appeasing divine providence; when, rather like any Atheists thinking that human

affairs were governed by no care or providence, we were daily adding crimes to crimes; when our bishops, despising the restraints of religion, were contending in mutual strifes, striving only to multiply quarrels, threats, emulation, hatreds, and mutual antipathies, most contentiously claiming for themselves a kind of tyrannical supremacy, then," etc.

If these bishops were not the false prophets, the wolves predicted by Christ and Paul, where shall we look for them? It were a great mistake then to suppose, that the Christian Church was at all pure, before its establishment by Constantine, about seventy years after the death of Cyprian. The spouse of Christ had lost her love for her Lord long before 325, when the Council of Nicæa was held, and that fatal connection was consummated between her and the master of the Roman world. It was this foul impurity that made her nothing loth, when courted, caressed, enriched, and seduced by the tyrant.

Thirty years before the close of the third century, Paul of Samosata was deposed from the Metropolitan throne of Antioch. Heresy on the Trinity was the crime by which he fell. He was a monster of rapacity, pride and lust, if his episcopal judges are to be believed. But there seems no reason for doubting Gibbon's assertion, that his vices would never have driven him from his throne, had he continued orthodox on the question of the Trinity. At all events, the two young beautiful women of the archiepiscopal palace, did not figure in the trial. His episcopal accusers, however free in charging him with these enormities in their writings, kept them out of the indictment,* apparently avoiding the risk of dange-

* This has been the regular policy in episcopal depositions, as we shall have occasion to notice more than once.

rous retorts. This is so far confirmed by the strange assurance of Constantine to the Nicene Fathers, that if he surprised a bishop, in the act of violating his neighbour's bed, he would throw over him his imperial purple, rather than the scandal should be divulged.*

It is painful to mention this, and it is dangerous to deny it, so I find ecclesiastical historians prone to pass it over in silence. Such policy can hardly be scripturally approved. It is of the last importance, that we should know the worst crimes of the best men, otherwise we should never have heard of David's foul, treacherous, murder, or Peter's perjured denial of his Lord. And if God thus deals with the dearest of his servants, what are we that we should dissemble the disgraces of those, whose claim to the character of God's servants is, to say the least, very doubtful—rather palpably false.

Instead of being slurred over, or barely hinted at, such a hideous fact as Constantine's assurance to his prelates, should be carefully weighed. It throws an awful light on the character of Constantine, as well as on that of his bishops. He could not have felt any horror at the crime, if he would thus have concealed it; nor could he have believed that his hearers did. And, surely, he was not mistaken in the character of too many of them;† otherwise they would with one voice have told him, that the God of the Christians had made adultery capital, when he gave his law by Moses, and that Christ had not

* Theodoret, i. 10. Stanley's East. Ch., p. 150.

† Charges had been lodged with Constantine of bishops against bishops, etc. Eustathius, Archbishop of Antioch, and Athanasius, the "great" deacon of Alexandria, were both accused of "gross licentiousness." It did not suit Constantine's policy to reform these shocking abuses. He carried the accusations to the Council, and, ordering a brazier to be brought, flung them all out of the folds of his imperial mantle, declaring, as he unfolded the purple, if he saw [a bishop, etc., etc., he would cover him with his robe.—Stanley's East. Ch., p. 150.

come to destroy the seventh commandment. But they said nothing. Such silence, surely, gave consent to the imperial estimate of their episcopal sympathies.

We cannot be surprised, if such an union of Church and State, did not lead to the purification of the already polluted Church; although, it was not in that union that the corruptions originated. What cannot be reasonably denied, is this most significant fact: we find these corruptions in the Church of Carthage, under Bishop Cyprian; and, fifty years before, in that same Church, when Tertullian was one of its presbyters, and when it cannot be shown it had any bishop as yet, these corruptions were unknown. Wealth and power had got into the hands of powerful ambitious presbyters, who proved embryo prelates, about the middle of the third century; and that wealth, and power, and prelacy, went hand in hand with corruption, strengthening each other, and forming a fourfold cord, that has been ever since, and is now, very hard to break.

The Episcopalians no doubt earnestly deny, that this corruption had any necessary connection with wealth, and power, and prelacy; that prelates may have wealth, and power, without being too fond of them, or making a bad use of them; and that when wealth, and power, are in the hands of good men, it is probable, or certain, that these advantages will become means of good.

The question, however, is: if these splendid positions exist in the Church, will not worldly wicked men be more attracted by them, than good and holy men? Will the wicked ones not stoop to any means to gain the prizes? Will they not fawn upon emperors, kings and great men, flatter their favourites, say and unsay, and set heavenly truth to sale in the simoniacal market? These are tricks that good men are slow in learning, and

clumsy in practising. In the race of Church patronage, the sheep will be slow; the wolves will distance them, and be sure to be first at the goal; and the first use they will make of their prize, will be to bite the sheep, that foolishly tried to run at all in such a course.

How did the traitor Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, howl at Leighton, the humble Bishop of Dunblane, when he called for moderation. Robert Leighton was no wolf, but he was not acting as a wise sheep, when he went to Scotland along with the wolves, and, in spite of all his good intentions, and unrivalled discourses, lent them his countenance in all their deeds of rapine and blood. And he proved himself a poor Church historian when he tried to convert his former brethren, the Presbyterians, to take up with his prelacy, by appealing to the Council of Nicæa, and telling them he wished his soul among its bishops—the wolves of Eusebius.

The history of the Church since the days of Constantine, and for the greater part of the century before, proves the truth of all this. Whatever was corrupt in the Church before his establishment, became aggravated and perpetuated by that fatal event.*

* "The pretended conversion of the kingdoms of the world, to the kingdom of Christ, in the fourth and fifth centuries, which I look upon as one of the greatest *tours d'adresse* that Satan ever played, except his invention of Popery."—"Arnold on the Church," p. 134. Dean Merivale believes in the reality of the conversion of the Roman empire. He has published a Bampton Lecture volume to prove it. The unbaptized Constantine, that *episcopus episcoporum*, with his hands dripping in the blood of his assassinated wife, and son, and nephew, converting the world to Christ! What a camel is that to swallow!

CHAPTER III.

THE First General Council was summoned by Constantine to meet at Nicæa, to settle a quarrel that had broken out between the Primate of Alexandria and his presbyter Arius, about the divinity of Christ.

The emperor first tried to settle the matter by soothing the disputants, and assuring them, they were contending about a trifle. This had no effect; so the Council had to be called (A.D. 325).

Three hundred and eighteen bishops met, and the emperor took a low and *golden* stool among them, but not till he had been asked to sit down. What was he doing there? He was not even a baptized man. What had ever fitted him to be a dictator about such high mysteries? Well, one thing was certain: he had supreme power. And when were bishops ever indifferent about that? *

It may be objected: How did he dictate? Did not he, at immense expense, call the bishops to decide the matter by fair argument and vote? All he pretended to do, was to give efficacy to the vote. Aye, but in three years he thought fit to change his imperial mind, and,

* Behold how *very* civil his Grace of York, and Bishop Magee, and good Samuel of Winchester, have all at once become to the workmen, since Derby took "*his leap in the dark.*" "When the Church holds out her hand, the workmen will clasp it."—Speech of Archbishop of York. Well, we shall see. If they do so, they are greater fools than I take them for.

in spite of having taken the lowest place in the Council, and that not till he had been invited, he drove the proudest of them from their thrones, without consulting any Council at all. His orthodoxy lasted but three years, and then he lived and died an Arian.

The year before, the emperor had declared the Arian dispute a trifle; he now became eager for orthodoxy. Arius was condemned, and driven into exile, with the heretical bishops. Arian books were devoted to the flames, and those who concealed them, condemned to death. Then, as we just said, in three years he upset his own decision. Arius was recalled, Eusebius of Nicomedia brought back to his see, and Paul of Constantinople, Eustathius of Antioch, and Athanasius of Alexandria, had to leave their cathedrals, and drink, in turn, the bitter cup of banishment. Persecution *in* the Church began from the Council of Nicæa, and has been the rule ever since, whenever the Church had power. In a few years Constantine died, but not before receiving baptism at the hands of the Arian, Eusebius of Nicomedia, to make sure that the blood of his wife, and son, and nephew, should be washed away, and that he might run no risk of contracting more stains, before appearing in the presence of *his* Judge.

Constantine, then, and his famous Council in reality settled nothing. Everything was thrown into confusion. The wrangling ambitious bishops became, in turn, the mere tools of the emperor, for the time being, and mutual executioners of the justice of God on each other, for their pride and avarice; or the emperor became their tool, in carrying out their ambitious plots against each other.

After the death of Constantine, the misery, guilt, and confusion of the ecclesiastics, were increased. His sons, Constantius and Constans, took different sides in the

quarrel. The Arian Constantius, while abhorring Athanasius, was obliged to allow his restoration under threat of war. But no sooner was Constans dead, than his heretical brother set all his troops in Egypt in motion, to expel the indefatigable little* Archbishop from his throne.

Constantius, remaining master of the empire, was the weak tool of the Arian pretenders to the name of Christ. He fixed his favourite, Macedonius on the throne of Constantinople, after starving his rival Paul for six days in a dungeon, and finally strangling him, and occasioning the death of thousands of their blind partisans. Macedonius having obtained his "bad eminence" by such atrocious means, set himself to carry out his views among his Catholic flock.

"The sacraments of the Church were administered to reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children, who, for that purpose, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents. The mouths of the communicants were held open by a wooden engine, while the consecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells, or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards."† The principal assistants of Macedonius were the Bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity.‡

Was not Macedonius, the denier of the Holy Spirit, a wolf, as well as a false prophet? Nay, is not the wild beast wronged in the comparison? God made it a wolf;

* This "great" restless saint was, it seems, a dwarf. See Stanley.

† Gibbon, Vol ii. p. 299. Soc., B. II. 27—38. Sozo, B. IV. 31.

‡ Gibbon, etc. Ibid.

but He made Macedonius a man. Pride, craft, and Constantius, made him an Archbishop; we can find neither in heaven nor earth the creator of his cruelty. And as to his *charitable* assistants, it only demonstrates the demoralizing nature of prelacy and irresponsible power. The tears of his young sovereign could not prevent Cranmer, with all his mildness, from insisting on sending Joan Bocher to the flames; because, forsooth, she was not orthodox on the human nature of Christ.

The Catholic Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, like his predecessor Cyprian, while in the furnace of affliction, felt some truths which bishops are too apt to forget when seated on their thrones. Addressing his oppressor Constantius, who had banished him, he had leisure to moralize thus: "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homoousion is rejected, and received, and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and the Son, is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds, to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done; we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing each other to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin!"

True O Hilary! You all, Catholics and Arians alike, became wolves together. We may truly say ALL; for so far as persecution was concerned, there was no difference. Nay, the truth is, the bloodiest persecutions in all succeeding ages have been carried on by those arrogating

the name of Catholics. This terrible fact is often palliated, on the plea that the ages were dark. The question, however, is pertinent, who brought in that darkness? Christ found that darkness in the minds of James and John, when they asked fire from heaven. His lessons kept his followers in the light for two hundred years. Before another hundred had passed, the bishops had come, and the light grew dimmer and dimmer, till the blackness of the dark ages settled down on the earth. Did Augustine, Hilary, and the rest, know nothing of Christ's words: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you:" "Hereby shall all men come to know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another?" If so, they were wilfully ignorant, as all those have been, who, for over a thousand years, have had their names continually in their mouths, and, so far as their power went, have always walked in their steps.

No sooner, therefore, was the union of Church and State consummated than persecution was born. It was by the sword that the world-wide supremacy of Constantine had been acquired, and he could think of no instrument but the sword, to secure his supremacy in the Church. Accordingly, as we have seen, the creed of the Council was at once carried out by the expulsion and exile of all who refused it. True, in three years they were brought back, and the persecutors were persecuted in their turn. This should have opened their eyes to the folly, not to say wickedness, of making men holy by fines and banishment and death. But bishops have shown themselves as unteachable, and unmerciful, as any other tyrants. The Stuarts and Bourbons were generally the most unteachable of tyrants; may we not find some explanation in the fact, that bishops were the teachers of both?

Let us hear Bishop Hilary once more in regard to the effects that followed the Council of Nicæa: "The East and West are in a perpetual state of restlessness and disturbance. Deserting our spiritual charges; abandoning the people of God; neglecting the preaching of the gospel; we are hurried about from place to place,* sometimes to great distances, some of us infirm with age, with feeble constitutions, or ill health, and are sometimes obliged to leave our sick brethren on the road. The whole administration of the empire, of the emperor himself, the tribunes, and the commanders, at this fearful crisis of the State, are solely occupied with the lives and the condition of the bishops. The people are by no means unconcerned. The whole brotherhood watches, in anxious suspense, the event of these troubles; the establishment of post-horses is worn out by our journeyings; and all on account of a few wretches,† who, if they had the least remaining sense of religion, would say with the prophet Jonah: 'Take us up, and cast us into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you; for we know that it is on our account that this great tempest is upon you!'" ‡

* Hilary and his brother bishops were wonderfully busy; but were they not "*busy-bodies*"? And all for what? Nothing? Worse than nothing? Intending to assert a Trinity, and really running into Tritheism. (See note p. 65.) Assuredly they were "*busy-bodies*," these bishops. Had Paul's discipline been carried out, they would not have been allowed a bit of bread. "If any one doth not choose to work, neither let him eat (2 Thess. iii. 10, 11.). For we hear that some are walking disorderly, not one thing working, on the contrary are *busy-bodies*" (*περιεργαζομένους*) working round about the business, but never doing it: like horses in a mill without grist, going round and round but making no flour.

† "Wretches." I beg the reader to observe, it is not *I* that use this very severe language. It is Bishop Hilary's.

‡ Hilar. Opera Hist. Fragm. XI. c. 25.

From this solemn testimony of one of the most famous of the Fathers we infer that the results of the Council and Creed of Nicæa were ruinous to the cause of Christ. "Churches were deserted by their pastors;" "the gospel was not preached;" everything was thrown into confusion by those ambitious quarrelsome greedy prelates, and their ignorant meddlesome masters, the emperors. It would have been strange if anything else had happened, when the command of Christ, by the apostles, was so systematically despised. These prelates were an order of officers unknown to the apostles, and their ways and their words were not the words and ways of the apostles. The *apostles* were "the off-scourings of all things;" "silver and gold they had none;" the prelates were lords of the earth, with wealth becoming their rank, and a wild ambition, that irresponsible power and boundless wealth always produce.

Besides, they did not speak like the apostles. They borrowed words from the heathen to express the truth concerning God and Christ, which the word of God did not sanction. Paul taught Timothy that "all Scripture was God-breathed and profitable for teaching," etc., that the man of God might be "complete." But these, calling themselves successors of the apostles, acted as if they were wiser than Paul—nay than God himself. They fancied they needed Aristotle's* "homoousion"

* Dr. W. Cunningham, in his Hist. Theol., v. i. p. 291, speaking of ὁμοούσιος, says: "The number of those individuals who held the substance of the Nicene doctrine, but objected to the phraseology in which it was expressed, was *very small*, and the evil thereof was very inconsiderable; while the advantage was invaluable that resulted from the possession and use of a *definite phraseology*, which *shut out all supporters of error*, combined *nearly all the maintainers of truth*, and formed a rallying-point around which the whole *orthodox* Church ultimately gathered, after the *confusion and distraction occasioned by Arian cunning and Arian persecu-*

and "ousia," to "teach" Arius, to "confute" him, to "set him right," to "discipline him in righteousness." Paul taught "the things of God" in "the words of God," not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, and found himself "complete," not merely for "wrestling with flesh and blood," but with "principalities and powers." These miserable pretenders to apostolicity, with Constantine and his legions to help them, and the sword of the Spirit hanging useless in their hands, could not meet the presbyter of Alexandria and his crew, without calling in Plato and Aristotle. No

tion had passed away." If I am not much mistaken, Dr. Cunningham's sagacity is much at fault here.

I italicize the objectionable points.

1. Dr. Schaff questions the fewness of those who preferred God's words to heathenish compounds in expressing God's truth. But whether few or many is of little moment, provided they were right; and they were so, if Paul and Peter were not wrong.

2. The "*phraseology*" was NOT "*definite.*" The Fathers of Nicæa used "*homoousios*" in a new sense, and made three gods, while they meant but one, and the Chalcedonians blundered in the use of the term, after it had been bandied about for two centuries. Dr. Schaff confesses Athanasius could not distinguish between *hypostasis* and *ousia*, and is "not accurate" on the relation of the Son to the Father (v. iii. p. 657), making two *beings* (*ousiai*).

3. "All supporters of error" were NOT "shut out;" on the contrary, errors of all kinds, borrowed from Paganism, such as images, pictures, wax-tapers, processions, mitres, gorgeous robes, etc., etc., made Christian churches hardly distinguishable from heathen temples. See Mosheim (iv. cent.)

4. "*Nearly all* maintainers of truth" were *not* "combined." The "*orthodox*" Homoousians persecuted those as heretics who would not countenance their vile superstitions; but whom Gieseler (v. i. 309—10) calls "Reformers:" such as the followers of Ærius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, etc.—in fact the orthodox Presbyterians of antiquity.

5. The orthodox Catholics persecuted the Arians first, and had no right to complain that the heretics learned the Catholic lesson. Unfortunately, however, "*persecution*," "*confusion*," and "*distraction*," did not cease when the Arians were extinguished by the codes of Theodosius and

wonder all ended in the self-abasing groans of Hilary, when he thought of all the creeds, and confusions and the crimes that followed them. In one word, *their* teaching was ASIDE FROM * that of the Holy Spirit.

Paul brands the trader in religion (1 Tim. vi. 5.) as one *puffed up* (ΤΕΤ.); and surely no one who knows anything of Constantine's prelates will plead for their humility. Robed, and seated on their thrones, with all the wealth and power of the world to prop them, and carry out their decrees, no wonder if they dreamed that

his successors. On the contrary these mischiefs were rifer than ever, and form the staple of history, civil and sacred, for more than twelve centuries, wherever, and whenever, the believers in Councils, whether Roman or Anglican, have not been restrained.

Though Dr. Schaff, as we have just seen, criticises Athanasius, still he admires him greatly, as well as his "*homoousion*." True, the busy Father uses the term in a sense unknown either to heathen or heretic, and Cudworth demonstrates, in his "Intel. Sys." (v. ii. p. 437, etc.), that he, and the Nicene Fathers, actually (however unintentionally) taught that there were three Gods; but Dr. Schaff apologizes for them, that the meanings of *hypostasis* and *ousia* were not then distinguished. Cudworth properly takes them, as Athanasius uses them, as synonymous, and proves him out of his own mouth a *Tritheist*. Dr. Schaff says Cudworth "*endeavours* to show" this; but his apology implies that the "endeavour" was successful; and what an implication is that! Dr. Schaff says: "Confessions of faith must be drawn up in language different from the Scriptures—else they mean nothing or everything—since they are *interpretation* of the Scriptures and intended to exclude false doctrines." What! had the Nicene Fathers, instead of blundering into Tritheism, said simply in the words of John, "Christ was God;" "all things were made by Him;" and added, in Paul's: "Who is God over all. Blessed for ever. Amen"—would their confession "have meant nothing or everything"? Nay, nay! "The word of God is *living* and *in-working*, sharper than any two-edged sword, throughgoing even to a parting of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow too, and is critical of the purposes and thoughts of the heart" (Heb. iv. 12). *Scripture means nothing or everything!* Oh my brother! this is not worthy of you!

* *παρὰ*. See the note, p. 12.

the millennium had at last set in, and that the saints were indeed reigning with Christ. Surely they were "puffed up,"* as their successors, in the ages that followed, have been, and are, with their towering mitres, swelling sleeves, and windy talk about being successors of the apostles.

He "knows nothing," says Paul, "but dotes about questions and word-fights" (λογ.) (Logomachies), "whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men thoroughly corrupted in mind, and robbed of the truth." Is not this a prophetic photograph of the Council of Nicæa? What, these holy fathers who came from all lands for the honour of Christ! Let it never be forgotten; it is not by crying Lord! Lord! either here or hereafter, that any man can be proved a Christian. There is but one infallible test, "by their fruits you will come to know them."

"How then," said Hermas, the apostolic Bunyan, "will a man know which of them is the prophet, and which the false prophet?" "I will tell you," says the shepherd, "about both the prophets, and then you can test the true and the false prophet according to my directions. Test the man, who has the divine spirit, by his life." "He who hath the Divine Spirit proceeding from above, is meek and peaceable and humble, and refrains from all iniquity, and the vain desire of this world, and contents himself with fewer wants than those of other men." "The man who seems to have the Spirit† exalts himself, and wishes to have the first seat, and is bold, and impudent and talkative, and lives in the midst of many luxuries, and many other delusions, and takes rewards for his

* The very word applied by Irenæus to the ambitious presbyter.

† Hermas seems to have Paul's "puffed up" in his eye, as we have just noticed in Irenæus.

prophecy;* and if he does not receive rewards, he does not prophecy. Can then the Divine Spirit take rewards and prophecy?"†

Which of these pictures suits the lords of Nicæa? They "seemed to have the Spirit." Why then did they not honour that Spirit by appealing to *His* words and speaking in *His* name? They spoke in their own name. "*We believe,*" YOU "*believe.*" O ye self-exalters, what wise man cares what YOU *believe?* What saith God? What saith Christ? What saith the Spirit? When our Lord met Satan in the wilderness, HE did not say, "I believe;" but "IT IS WRITTEN; IT IS WRITTEN; IT IS WRITTEN"; and Satan "departed" with a treble wound. The men of Nicæa said, "*We* believe:" and Satan came; his treble wound seemed healed; he became mightier for mischief than he had ever been; and that might he has, more or less, held for over fifteen hundred years; and he holds it now.

That the mischiefs following the Council of Nicæa are not here exaggerated, may be shown by the admissions of the moderate, and usually, judicious Mosheim (iv. cent., P. ii. c. 3). I. "The fundamental principles of Christian doctrine were preserved hitherto incorrupt and entire in most churches, though, it must be confessed, that they were often explained and defended in a manner that discovered the greatest ignorance, and an utter confusion of ideas. The disputes carried on in the Council of Nice, concerning the three persons in the Godhead, afford a remarkable example of this, particularly in the language and explanations of those who approved the decisions of that Council. So little light, precision, and order reigned

* Paley says if there were no good places in the Establishment, *able men* would have nothing to do with it.

† Balaam would fain have had rewards; "he loved the wages of unrighteousness." But the Spirit by which he spake baffled him; and an ass reproved "the madness of the prophet."

in their discourses, that they appeared to substitute three gods in place of one."

"Nor did the evil end here; for those vain fictions, which an attachment to the Platonic philosophy, and to popular opinions, had engaged the greatest part of the Christian doctors to adopt, before the time of Constantine, were now confirmed, enlarged and embellished, in various ways. Hence arose that extravagant veneration for departed saints, and those absurd notions of a certain *fire*, destined to purify separate souls, that now prevailed, and of which the public marks were everywhere to be seen. Hence also the celibacy of priests, the worship of images and relics, which, in process of time, almost utterly destroyed the Christian religion, or at least eclipsed its lustre, and corrupted its very essence in the most deplorable manner. II. An enormous train of various superstitions were gradually substituted for true religion and genuine piety. This odious revolution proceeded from a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating the Pagan rites, and of blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition on the ruin of Christianity."

The "History of the Eastern Church," by Dean Stanley, will be found to confirm all our conclusions regarding the Council of Nicæa. He informs us* that, "the title of the Council of Nicæa," at the time was, in contradistinction to all which had gone before, "The Great and Holy Synod." It does not seem to occur to him that there was anything improper in this. Surely, if there ever was a synod on earth that was entitled to call itself

* East. Ch., p. 77.

"Great and Holy," it was the Synod of Jerusalem, consisting of the apostles chosen by Jesus Christ himself, and of the presbyters, chosen by the Church, and ordained by Peter, James, and John, and of the brethren. They could say without presumption, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;" but they did not call themselves the "Great and Holy Synod." It was a bad beginning of the work of peace, when the peacemakers thus exalted themselves. No wonder Nicæa became another Babel, and that confusion and misery began, and have gone on ever since, in what calls itself Catholic Christendom.

The Council was called by the authority of Constantine; and the Church of England declares in Article XXI.: "General Councils may not be gathered together but by the commandment and will of princes." Dean Stanley seems to approve of this;* but the only infallible council that ever met on earth, the Council of Jerusalem, was not called by princes. HE "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice" never entrusted them with any such authority in his Church.

The Council of Nicæa did not speak "in the name of Jesus Christ," but in their own name: "*We* believe" —apparently taking it for granted that all were bound to follow their faith. Now this was in flagrant violation of Paul's command (Coloss. iii. 17), "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus." Somehow the Fathers forgot this—nay they rejected it, when they refused the creed of Eusebius, which concluded with these words: "We testify in the name of Almighty God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ."† Dr. Stanley hardly seems properly impressed with the supreme importance of this.

* Dean Stanley's E. C., p. 80. † Dean Stanley's E. C., p. 156.

For example, he relates a very interesting story of the way in which Spyridion, an old confessor, silenced Eulogius, the voluble talker. "In the name of Jesus Christ, hear me, philosopher," cried Spyridion: "there is one God, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: who made all things by the power of his word, and by the holiness of his Holy Spirit. This Word, by which name *we* call the Son of God, took compassion on men for their wandering astray, and for their savage condition, and chose to be born of a woman, and to converse with men, and to die for them, and He shall come again to judge every one for the things done in life. These things we believe without curious inquiry. Cease, therefore, the vain labour of seeking proofs for, or against, what is established by faith, and the manner in which these things may be, or may not be; but, if thou believest, answer me at once as I put the questions to thee."

The philosopher was struck dumb by this new mode of argument. He could only reply that he assented. "Then," answered the old man, "if thou believest this, rise, and follow me to the Lord's house, and receive the sign of this faith." The philosopher turned round to his disciples, or to those who had been gathered round him by curiosity: "Hear," he said, "my learned friends. So long as it was a matter of words, I opposed words to words, and whatever was spoken I overthrew by my skill in speaking; but when, in place of words, power came out of the speaker's lips, words could no longer resist power, man could no longer resist. If any of you feel as I have felt, let him believe in Christ, and let him follow this old man in whom God has spoken."

Let us now weigh the comment of Dr. Stanley: "Exaggerated or not, this story is a proof of the magnetic

power of earnestness and simplicity over argument and speculation." I see no evidence of exaggeration; but a clear proof, that the "name of Jesus Christ" was still mighty to save, when the power of the Holy Spirit accompanied the words. The philosopher knew it was the *power* of God, and not the "magnetic power of earnestness and simplicity." "Which things also we speak," says Paul (1 Cor. ii. 13.) "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth."

This was just what old Spyridion did, and God owned his words in confounding and converting the philosopher who had been trusting in "the words which man's wisdom teacheth;" and it was the very thing which the fathers of Nicæa would not do. They dishonoured the wisdom of God, the power of the Holy Spirit, and the example and command of Peter and Paul by bringing the words of Plato and Aristotle into their confession, as if God's words were weak and unfit for their mouths. With all their learning they had never learned the lesson which Paul insisted on to the Corinthians (1 Ep. iv. 6.): "*Nothing above what is written.*" That lesson old Spyridion *had* learned, and God honoured him. That lesson the Nicæans had *not* learned, and God made fools of them all.

The Dean tells us on the next page (135), "The battle was fought and won by quotations, not from tradition, but from the Old and New Testament! How does the Dean know that? What were "the texts from the Old and New Testament?" Which of these texts was it that contained the word "*homoousion,*" that made all the mischief? The little deacon insisted, the texts implied "*homoousion.*" But that was merely his opinion. The Holy Spirit had not thought proper to employ that

word in teaching men the truth about the Godhead. Was Athanasius wiser than God? The battle won by the Bible indeed! Nay, the Bible was despised; and they who set it aside, shall be more and more "lightly esteemed." "The frenzy of argument was too vehement to be restrained. Heretic and orthodox alike felt themselves compelled to advance," p. 135. "Frenzy?" Does the Dean agree with Calvin that the Fathers were "*fanatics?*" "Felt themselves *compelled?*" What "compelled" them? The Holy Spirit? That never inspired "frenzy," but always works in a sound mind. What "compelled" them then? The evil spirit? The Dean seems to agree with Peter Martyr after all, that the Nicene Fathers were *demoniacs*. "Compelled them to *advance*"? Whither? Toward "peace and good-will to men?" To light and love, harmony and joy, "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," the echoes of the angels of Bethlehem? Oh no!—to darkness and hatred, discord and misery, priestly curses and wars, to crusades, inquisitions, *auto da fé's*, and the deluging of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America too, with blood. It was an "advance" then towards hell upon earth.

Athanasius and Constantine were the chief of the Nicæans. The reader of the "Eastern Church," unless I mistake much, will hardly obtain a clear conception of these two men from its pages.

Athanasius? Was he an apostolic man? Did he show anything of the temper and wisdom of Peter or Paul? Peter insisted that if "any man spake he should speak as the oracles of God;" and Paul, that the all-important lesson was, "Nothing above what is written." Athanasius defied the wisdom of both. He threw a firebrand into the Church in his heathen *homoousion*, and the conflagration which he kindled has burned ever

since. The Council might have agreed on the creed of Eusebius had it not been for the *homoousion*. But Athanasius insisted on it to crush Arius, and raise himself to the throne of Egypt.

There is too much reason for believing that ambition was at the bottom of Athanasius' orthodoxy; for, as soon as he gained the highest place he was willing to "waive the word" *homoousion*, "when he found that it was misunderstood." I not only agree with Bishop Kaye and the Dean "that he might have come earlier to this conclusion;" but I say, that there seems too much reason for believing, that the concession which he could very well make when he became dictator, he could not afford when he was merely deacon. Had he sacrificed his favourite phrase at Nicæa, Arius might have become Archbishop of Alexandria.

As for Constantine, the Dean grants to Niebuhr that he was not a Christian, and thus, substantially gives up Constantine's character: for, then, he was an unprincipled politician who talked—nay, preached about Christ, when he was merely seeking his own power. He was very candid in his farewell speech: "Some join us from desire of maintenance" ('this he said in accordance with a well-known principle, which he was wont to commend'), "some for preferment; some for presents; nothing is so rare as a real lover of truth." So far from frowning on the clerical dog who fawned on him for his well-fleshed bone, he liked him, he patted him, for he was sure of leading him so long as he held the bone. But was not this the way to fill the Church with "belly-slaves"?

The Dean does not seem able to condemn this policy; possibly, because he knows he would be condemning the English ecclesiastical policy for ages. Our sovereigns have always kept up the rich bishoprics, and our

bishops have always been their humble servants; though Paul forbids our being the servants of men, and denounces the love of money as a root of every mischief.

While granting that Constantine was no Christian, Dr. Stanley qualifies his admission by reminding us, that such probably was the case with many "besides Constantine," p. 229. But surely it is not helping Constantine to say that most of his courtiers, and bishops too? were as bad as himself. The question still returns: How could such characters be the patrons of a pure system like Christianity? Of that the Dean seems to have no doubt; for he tells us, that "in spite of all his inconsistencies" (such as murdering his wife, and son, and nephew) "he went steadily forward in the main purpose of his life, that of protecting and advancing the cause of the Christian religion."

All that Dr. Stanley proves about Constantine is, that the main purpose of his life was to "protect" and "advance" his own irresponsible power. For this he bribed bishops with wealth and grandeur; and they bowed to him as *their* bishop, and glorified him as an apostle "born out of due time." But after all, pampering bishops, whether Arians or Homoousians (and Constantine, in succession, did both) is not "protecting," but poisoning, Christianity. Nothing under heaven is more alien from the religion of Christ than an obsequious, luxurious, time-serving, self-seeking episcopacy; and a base, patron-ridden presbytery, such as in the eighteenth century expelled the Erskines, and in the nineteenth allowed Chalmers and his noble brethren to be expelled, is little, if at all, better.

CHAPTER IV.

After fifty-six years of ever increasing darkness, superstition, and consequent immorality, in 381, Theodosius the Great called the Second General Council at Constantinople. The former had been convened to establish the supreme divinity of Christ; the latter was called to settle that of the Holy Spirit. What blind arrogance! What impious presumption! If these doctrines are divine, it is because God has revealed them in his book. Though all the eighteen hundred bishops of Christendom had unanimously voted their truth, that truth would not in the smallest have been confirmed. If they are not revealed in the Bible, the shouts of assenting bishops would not lend them an atom of evidence.

If John tells us, as he does in the very beginning of his gospel, that the Word was God, and made everything that was made, I must believe him to be divine, if I believe John to have been God's apostle. If, at the very moment when the Jews took up stones to stone our Lord, because He called himself God's Son, "making himself equal with God," He told them that He was to be "honoured even as the Father," we must believe Him to be God, if we believe Him to be a faithful witness. When the Nicene Fathers proclaimed: "We believe the Son to be God," and said not one word about Christ's testimony and his

apostle's, they were drawing away the faith of men from God to themselves. If a man, who before the Council of Nicæa, had refused to believe the testimony of Christ to his own divinity, believed Him to be God, after the bishops had voted it, that man would have been a believer in bishops, but not a believer in Christ. No wonder the Council of Nicæa was followed, as Mosheim assures us, by superstition, idolatry, and the "corruption of the very essence of Christianity."

For example, Augustine declared that he would not believe the gospel if he were not constrained by the authority of the Church. Was not this setting his church above Christ? Christ told his hearers (John xii. 38), "he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, the same shall judge him at the last day." That word binds every man who reads or hears the gospel. No set of ecclesiastics calling themselves the Church, are needed to make the man responsible for what he hears, by lending a priestly authority to Christ's word. Christ does not receive authority from man. Christ, at the last day, will hold the man responsible for his gospel, as well as the churchmen who pretend to lend it authority.

Augustine therefore was speaking as a bishop, not as a Christian. These characters are very different. A Christian is a man drawing his spiritual life from Christ, and, with all his daily lamented shortcomings, he must be a good man. A *mere* Churchman is not a Christian at all. He has put his church in the place of Christ. A man who loves and obeys Christ, must belong to the Church. The most conspicuous Churchmen we read of, are among the most unscrupulous, bloody, characters in history.

Whence did John Bunyan receive his Christianity? From the self-called Church? Nay, *that* Church threw

him into prison during twelve years, because he would not take his Christianity from her. Whence, then, did he receive his Christianity? From the word of Christ himself contained in the gospels. He did not wait for the bishop's explanations. Christ's pure simple word commended itself to his conscience. Had he rejected it till such time as the bishop gave his word as a confirmation, Bunyan would never have written the "Pilgrim's Progress." He would have been a Churchman, not a Christian. We read of a little Jewess falling on a Hebrew New Testament in her uncle's library, and while she conned, all alone, the simple gospels, she became sure that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah; and, one day when her relatives were talking of Jesus as the deceiver, she horrified them by saying: "He was the Messiah." All the reasonings of Rabbis, and all the persuasions and persecutions of relatives could not dislodge the conviction from her soul, nor frighten her from expressing it. Was she not a Christian? She knew nothing of what calls itself the Church. The Holy Spirit who breathed the words of the evangelists, had not waited for the godmother's vows, or the priest's sign and water, to make her "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

And now the bishops undertake to settle the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Was it not already settled? Had not Christ put the name of the Holy Spirit, along with his own name, and that of the Father, in the form of Baptism? Had not Paul declared (1 Cor. xii. 11.) that the Holy Spirit "divideth his own things to each just as He pleaseth?" Here are two witnesses, Christ and his apostle. Are they not enough? Do they need the help of the Bishops at Constantinople? Any one really receiving the divine testimony, must resent the pretended

episcopal confirmation, as a grand impertinence at least, if not an impious profanity; implying, as it does, that God's word needs the prelates' to make it good.

Besides though the Scripture ascribes the points mentioned by the bishops to the Holy Spirit, *i.e.*, that he is "Lord and Giver of life," etc., it mentions them always in such a connection as to give them a divine life and efficacy. For instance, when Paul tells the Corinthians: "All these worketh the one and the self-same Spirit, that divideth his own things to each, just as he pleaseth," he not only teaches them, that the Holy Spirit is sovereign Lord in his gifts; but that any glorying in him who has them, or any repining in him who has them not, must be an equal impiety in both. But the creed of Constantinople is different from this: it is *aside** *from* it. It simply says: the "Holy Spirit is Lord," as if the Father was not Lord. True, it says the Father is Almighty; but by withholding the attribute from the Son and Spirit, it seems to imply that the Father alone is Almighty. This apparent deficiency some one, whom "the Church" *falsely* calls Athanasius, took in hand to supply; and he presumes to assure us: "Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost." But how is that? If the Son is begotten, and the Father is not, how can the one be just *such* as the other? So of the Spirit. And yet this pseudo Athanasius curses us all, if we do not just believe all he tells us! Such are the endless absurdities, perplexities, impieties of men speaking "*aside from the Holy Spirit.*"

They seem to honour the Holy Spirit by calling Him "*Lord,*" at the very time they were setting themselves as lords over all who owned the Lord Jesus Christ; for any one who refused to receive their creed was to be per-

* See note, p. 12.

secuted. The sword of Theodosius was to drive him into banishment, or *in some cases to take his life.* Was not this "lording it over God's heritage;" the very thing that Peter expressly forbade the presbyters (1 Pet. v. 3) from attempting? Did not Paul also tell the Corinthians (2 Ep. i. 24): "Not that we are *lording** it over your faith"? The very thing that Peter forbade, and Paul presumed not to do—lording it over the Church, was the very crime that the bishops took in hand at Nicæa, and were now perpetrating afresh at Constantinople, and that too, at the very moment (mark the depths of Satan) they affected to call the Holy Spirit LORD!

The impiety of Constantine's bishops at Nicæa, and of Theodosius' at Constantinople has been going on ever since. At this very moment we see the bishops of England lording it among our lords, and over their parishes, by setting *their* presbyters over them, without ever waiting for the people's vote; a thing which, we have demonstrated Paul and Barnabas did not do in Lycaonia; and which no apostle ever presumed to do.

So far, therefore, as these Councils had any effect at all, it must have been to drive faith in God out of the world, and to put faith in men in its stead—of men too, who, judging by their acts—the only test ("by their fruits ye shall come to know them") were, in general, as proud, as avaricious, and as unprincipled as the worst Pagans.† Ammianus Marcellinus, a faithful Pagan his-

* κυρ: The verb is really the same as in Peter; but English Version misses the harmony. Alford follows English Version; Green corrects it.

† The excellent men who met at Westminster in the seventeenth century did not follow the example of these Councils. What they believed to be the truth they stated in their own words; but they took good care to annex their proofs, or what they honestly believed to be proofs, from the word of God; warning every man that what they said, had not an atom's weight, except as it was confirmed by God. They appealed to all, as wise,

torian, declares,* "That no wild beasts were so savage to men, as most Christians were to each other." Were not the teachers of such Christians "false prophets"? Were they not "tearing wolves"?† Gregory Nazianzen, "faithful among the faithless" (at least, comparatively so) confirms the Pagan, and testifies that "The kingdom of heaven was converted by discord into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself."

We have seen how that Arian monster Macedonius handled the orthodox of Constantinople; how he marched to his throne over the corpses of thousands, and sent the Roman legionaries to slaughter the Donatists into submission. But truth compels us to declare, that this wading through blood to thrones, was not peculiar to heretics. There was no essential difference in this between them and the orthodox. Damasus did not seize the chair of Rome without fighting for it. Ammianus‡ testifies: "The ardour of Damasus and Ursicinus, to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the præfect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained, by superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed; the well-disputed victory remained on the side of his faction; and a hundred and thirty dead bodies were found in the

men, to judge what they said. They did not conclude with a curse against all who differed from them. Still the Presbyterian majority at Westminster had a fatal determination, like their enemies the Prelatists, to make their favourite polity the exclusive rule throughout the three kingdoms. For this they fought *with* Cromwell, in the first civil war, and *against* him in the second. Immortal honour to the great Protector who gave his life to teach the nations "how to live!"

* xxii. 5.

† Orat. i. p. 33. Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501, 4th.

‡ xxvii. 3.

Basilica of Sicininus, where the Christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendour of the capital, I am not astonished that so splendid a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure, that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons; that, as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome; and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the delicate entertainments provided by the taste, and at the expense, of the Roman pontiffs."

Here Ammianus is again borne out, if not by a Gregory, at least by one, whom the great Augustine acknowledged as his superior in many things—I mean Jerome. He was the secretary of Damasus, and, though a partisan of the Pope, he confesses* there were "*Very cruel slaughters of* BOTH *sexes*" at the chairing of his saint.

We cannot question the justness of Ammianus' connecting the splendour of the Papacy with the furious contests of those who aspired to that envied elevation. We formerly noticed similar scenes in Constantinople, when the Nicene Paul was expelled, and made way with, by Macedonius and Philip the præfect of the city. As supreme power had now passed into the hands of Theodosius, who was so zealous for orthodoxy that he would tolerate neither Paganism nor Arianism, of course the Arian bishop, Demophilus, when he positively, with singular integrity, refused to give up his principles, had to make way for an orthodox successor.

After a supremacy of forty years, Arianism, which

* Chronic., p. 186.

had taken possession of the city when Macedonius marched over the bodies of the orthodox, slain by the soldiers of Constantius, had now to give place to the orthodox Gregory, conducted by Theodosius at the head of his legionaries, and placed by the emperor's own hand in the patriarchal throne. But hardly had he occupied that envied place when he became sick of his glory. This sad mortification arose from the intrigues of the bishops about the patriarchal throne of Antioch. That tempting prize had just fallen vacant by the death of Meletius, president of the Council. Gregory, who succeeded Meletius as president, wished the excellent Paulinus to be patriarch. But the Eastern faction preferred Flavian, though he had formerly *abjured* the lofty place. This, however, did not prevent Flavian from now accepting the honour. The Western bishops were so disgusted that they withdrew from the Council. Poor Gregory was thus left in the hands of the Egyptians. Though his great popularity as a preacher, combined with the patronage of Theodosius, had secured the unanimous support of the Council to his election as patriarch, yet that election was now questioned, and its validity denied. The high-minded prelate at once resigned, hoping perhaps that Theodosius would insist on his own arrangement. But he was mistaken. The emperor did not think proper to interfere with an orthodox majority, which no doubt had sounded and tuned him beforehand. No sooner was Gregory expelled, than the senator Nectarius, yet unbaptized, was chosen to fill his place, and, with shameless haste, put through the water to qualify him for his sacred office.

No wonder if Gregory did not admire the saints of Constantinople. Gibbon, giving the sum of Gregory's testimony, says: "In an age when the ecclesiastics had

scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always most eager to frequent and disturb the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were the love of gold and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed with prudent flexibility their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the Church and State, the religion of their sovereign became the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled, by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the Council of Constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism at Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the Western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate, rather than betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese;"* or to a pack of wolves,

* Gibb. Dec. and F., V. III., p. 21; Sozomen, L. VII. c. iii. 11; Socrates, L. V., c. 5; Greg. Naz., *de vita sua*, tom. ii. p. 25, 28; tom. i. orat. i. p. 33; Epis. LV., p. 814; tom. ii. Carmen X., p. 81.

for *they* are ruled by hunger and ferocity; and we have Gregory's testimony that the "ruling passions of the bishops were the love of money and the love of dispute."

No wonder the pious Gregory was disgusted with Councils. He has left on record his experience concerning these assemblies, which though it has been often quoted will bear quotation once more: "That he had never seen assemblies of bishops which had had a happy end; that they had always increased the disease instead of curing it; that the obstinate contests and desires of victory and lording, which ordinarily reigned in them, made them mischievous, and that, usually, those who were meddling in judging others, were prompted rather by their malice, than by a wish to put an end to their faults." *

Before leaving the Council of Constantinople, we may perhaps profitably reflect a moment on the remarkable man who called it together. It is not the mere flattery of courtiers and bishops that has styled Theodosius "Great." He conquered Italy, and gave it away; but priests conquered *him*, and made him their slave. It is one of the most memorable and lamentable facts of history, that this mighty man laid his head in the lap of the Roman Delilah, and abused his God-given strength to do her vilest work. He was the first thoroughly consistent, indiscriminate, persecutor among those called Christians. Constantine persecuted Arians and patronized the orthodox, and then in three years reversed the process; but he did not persecute Paganism. This infernal consistency was reserved for Theo-

* "Sweet are the uses of adversity." Gregory, like Cyprian and Hilary, was wiser in his dark corner, than ever he had been on his throne; but he still exhorted his successor Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople.

dosius when drunk with the wine of Rome. The first thing he did on coming out of the laver of Rome's regeneration, was to send forth this proclamation: "It is our pleasure that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles, and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the name of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics; and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable name of churches. Besides the condemnation of divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."*

The Council of Constantinople was called to carry out this enormous mixture of priestly falsehood and ferocious cruelty; and fifteen edicts, in as many years, were fulminated by Theodosius, to maintain, by legal miseries and murder, the glories of the Godhead; of the Father who so loved the world as to send his only begotten Son to die for it; of that well-beloved Son who was willing to die; of that Holy Spirit who continually makes that love effectual (whenever it is felt) in the hearts of men!

* Codex Theodos., L. XVI. tit. i. Leg. 2, with Godefroy's Comm. tom. vi. p. 5—9.

The men, who more than all others helped to put out the eyes of this strong man, and make him abuse his strength to make sport for dæmons, by torturing men for the honour of the God of love, were St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. And to gain their point they did not scruple to stoop to the most infamous and ridiculous fabrications. Let us hear the testimony of Mosheim once more (iv. cent., part ii., c. iii. § xvi.) "If the enthusiastic phrensy of the monks exaggerated, in a manner pernicious to the interests of morality, the discipline that is obligatory upon Christians, the interests of virtue and true religion suffered yet more severely by two monstrous errors, which were almost universally adopted in this century, and became a source of innumerable calamities and mischiefs in the succeeding ages. Of these maxims one was: 'That it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by such means the interests of the Church might be promoted.' And the other, equally horrible, though in another point of view, was: 'That errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures.' Of these, the former was now of long standing; it had been adopted for some ages past, and had produced an incredible number of ridiculous fables, fictitious prodigies, and pious frauds, to the unspeakable detriment of that glorious cause in which they were employed. And it must be frankly confessed, that the greatest men, and most eminent saints of this century, were more or less tainted with the infection of this corrupt principle, as will appear to such as look with an attentive eye into their writings and their actions. We would willingly except from this charge Ambrose and Hilary, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen and Jerome,*

* The learned, able, and excellent Dr. William Cunningham seems to

but truth which is more respectable than these venerable Fathers, obliges us to involve them in the general accusation."

How was it possible that a soul, naturally so noble and generous, as that of Theodosius, should so abuse his supreme power, as to organize that vast infernal system of legal persecution, set forth in the code that goes by his name, and which bound the world in chains of darkness and misery over a thousand years, had his simple unsuspecting nature not been imposed on and misled by the glaring infamous fabrications of *St.* Ambrose about the bones of Gervasius and Protasius—fabrications endorsed by *St.* Augustine, and which were merely a sample of the system which was then universal?

Is not this a demonstration that the apostasy predicted by Paul (1 Tim. iv. 1—4), was now triumphant, when "some were to depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of dæmons, *speaking lies in hypocrisy*, having their conscience seared as with a hot iron, *hindering** *marriage*," etc.? And if cruelty is the essence of the wolfish nature, were not *Saints* Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome, "the founders of Latin Christianity," as Dean Milman calls them (Lat. Chris. vol. i. p. 221), and the patrons of Roman blood-thirstiness, as *I* call them—were they not wolves, as well as lying prophets? No doubt Augustine is extolled by Calvinist and Lutheran, Anglican and Roman as the great doctor of the faith. How then could he be one of those who were to *aposta-*

have forgotten this, when he tells us in his admirable lectures on the History of Doctrine, that he believes some of the Ignatian letters must be genuine, *because* Augustine and Jerome believed they were. Unfortunately, their saying they believed *such a thing*, was no proof that they believed it.

* κωλυόντων.

tize from the faith? To apostatize is, literally, *to stand off from;* and did not Augustine "*stand off*" from the faith when he betook himself to *lying* in the name of Christ? What was his fine preaching worth about justification and faith? Was not James the apostle crying in his epistle, "*I** will show thee, from my works, my faith?" Is it not true that Augustine was showing his faith by slaughtering those who refused to own his Church, and by lying to keep himself and his Church in countenance? These were not Christ's works; and works are *His* infallible test: "By their fruits ye shall come to know them."

"With shame and sorrow we hear from Augustine himself that fatal axiom, which for centuries reconciled the best and holiest men to the guilt of persecution, the axiom which impiously arrayed cruelty in the garb of Christian charity—that they persecuted in compassion to their souls" (Milman's Lat. Chris., vol. i. p. 127). How are the goodness and holiness of such men to be reconciled with Christ's test: "By their fruits ye shall come to know them"? Augustine, by his commanding intellect, far more than his master Ambrose, turned Christendom into an Aceldama; and because, forsooth, he wrote powerfully about God's sovereignty, original sin, predestination and almighty grace, we must believe him "one of the best and holiest of men," though covered all over with the blood of the poor heretics (as he branded them) whom he tortured from love to their souls. If these doctrines are true, it can only be because God has revealed them. To maintain them by tortures and murder is to disgrace them.

Augustine was Ambrose's pupil. He saw his master the greatest man in the world; the keeper of Theodosius'

* κἀγὼ.

conscience, who was leading the lion in his chain; but the chain was a chain of darkness, which Ambrose made strong by his vision about the bones of the martyrs, and the miracles wrought by their touch; the blind man who got his sight, and the dæmons who were compelled to own the Creed of Nicæa. This monstrous organization of fraud Augustine assented to, and testified to. But then he and his teacher, Ambrose, held the Nicæan Creed! Well, even if that creed was true (and I would own it if the truth had been stated in the words of God), surely even the truth might be "held down in unrighteousness;"* and in flagrant unrighteousness it *was* held down by Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome, when they shed blood—the blood of their brethren, and told lies—monstrous elaborate lies, to maintain their tyranny.

Still it will be said: They were sincere; they were honest; they thought they were pleasing God? but I deny it. There is no sincerity in telling lies.

But did not Christ tell his disciples (John xvi. 2.): "The hour cometh when every one that killeth you will think he† offereth service to God?" And did God smile on the offering? They might fancy that God was of their mind; but does not "the mighty God" expressly tell "the wicked" in Ps. l. 21: "Thou thoughtest I was altogether like thyself?" Who can read without horror Augustine's (61) letter to Dulcitius, who asked advice as to how he should act towards the Donatists,

* Rom. i. 18, I would render thus: "For God's wrath is being revealed from heaven upon all impiety and unrighteousness of men, who are holding down the truth in unrighteousness." Dean Alford gives the proper force to the compound verb κατεχω; but he loses the beautiful significance of επι, *upon*, which paints the avenging wrath flashing *from* heaven *upon* earth. Con. the Dutch version *over*, and the Italian (Diodati) *sopra*.

† προσφ.

who were driven by despair to self-destruction by the murderous imperial laws; one bishop having made several attempts at suicide, and another declaring he would burn himself and his flock in their own church. Augustine coolly advises him to execute the law in all its rigour, since it was better that some of them should burn themselves, than that they should all burn eternally in hell. And what was the crime of the Donatists, except withdrawing from a Church which they thought too lax in its discipline? The very crime of all the Dissenters (so-called) in England. And yet it is common to denounce the *furious madness* of the Donatists. *I* denounce the diabolical cruelty of the Catholics, that drove them to it. "Oppression maketh a wise man mad." Moreover, supposing for a moment, that the burning of some by the fires of their own kindling, from which as Augustine believed they went to burn for ever in the eternal flames—supposing I say that this self-burning of some had frightened all the rest into Augustine's Church; could he have believed in the conversion of his cowering followers? In making them all cowards, could he fancy he had made them all Christians? Was this Augustine's heaven on earth to be surrounded by crowds of trembling hypocrites, who called themselves Catholics? If there ever was hell on earth, that was it. But it seems Augustine preferred reigning in that hell, to ruling, as an under shepherd, the little flock which the love of Jesus might gather around him. And sad it is to say it, but it is truth that must not yet be forgotten, that Augustine's diabolical ambition, has been the policy of all the Catholics, Roman and Anglican, that have walked in his bloody footsteps.

The Council of Constantinople, after settling to its satisfaction the supreme divinity of the Third Person in

the Trinity, decreed, among other things, that the see of Constantinople should be second to that of Rome. However pleasing this might be to Rome, it was sure to provoke Alexandria and Antioch. Theophilus, patriarch of the former city, became the bitter persecutor of Chrysostom, and by cunningly availing himself of the antipathies which Chrysostom's unsparing denunciations of vice could not but awaken in the mind of the Empress Eudoxia and her court, contrived at last, by coming from Egypt and presiding in a Council at Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople (for Chrysostom's popularity made it inexpedient to meet in the metropolis), to banish him to the mountains of Armenia.

Theophilus' feud with Constantinople, was transmitted to his nephew Cyril who succeeded him in the patriarchal throne. This man stands as a saint in Rome's calendar, and well merits the honour if ambition and cruelty are saintly virtues. "Cyril of Alexandria," says Dean Milman, "to those who esteem the stern and uncompromising assertion of certain Christian tenets, the one paramount Christian virtue, may be the hero, even the saint: but while ambition, intrigue, arrogance, rapacity, and violence are proscribed as unchristian means, barbarity, persecution, bloodshed as unholy and unevangelic wickednesses—posterity will condemn the orthodox Cyril as one of the worst heretics against the spirit of the gospel." (Lat. Chris., vol. i. p. 145.)

This is an awful account to give of a saint. It is much like a picture of a prelatic wolf. If history speaks truth, however, the picture is from the life. For no sooner was this man seated on the throne of Alexandria, than he shut up all the churches of the Novatians, whom he called heretics, seized all their property, and stripped their bishop of everything. He tried to do the same to

the Jews and the Pagans. Cyril therefore had all the rapacity of the wolf.

He had also all its cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Of course Cyril could not carry out his high-handed confiscations without encroaching on the authority of Orestes, the præfect of the city. Both Cyril's Christians and the Jews were fond of the theatre, and they quarrelled about an actor. To prevent further mischief, Orestes gave notice that he would not allow fighting. One Hierax, a notorious partizan of Cyril, who in church was in the habit of *loudly* applauding Cyril's pulpit efforts, entered the theatre, and the Jews raised a shout that he came there to insult them. Orestes, regarding Hierax as Cyril's tool, and the author of the uproar, ordered him to be whipped. Cyril sent for the Jews, and threatened vengeance if they did not let the Christians alone. The Jews are accused, probably falsely, of having struck the first blow by attacking the Christians. Cyril it is certain put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Jews in their synagogue, slaughtered some, drove the rest out of the city, and seized all their immense wealth.

The monks now flocked to the city to the number of five hundred with arms in their hands, in order to support Cyril. These worshippers of Mary insulted Orestes as an idolater, and one of them, named Ammon, flung a large stone and nearly killed him. The citizens however rose and drove the monks from the city. Ammon was seized, tortured, and put to death. Cyril had his body raised. The ferocious ruffian was honoured as a martyr. His panegyric was pronounced by the patriarch in his cathedral, who gave him the surname of Thaumasius, the Wonderful. Thus Cyril stood by his friends, the monks.

One of the most indelible stains on the character of this saint is the murder of the famous Hypatia. This woman was distinguished by her beauty as much as by her profound learning, matchless eloquence, and spotless reputation. The first citizens flocked to her discourses, and Cyril's pulpit was eclipsed. She honoured Orestes with her friendship, which made her still more an eyesore to the faction of the patriarch. The execrable villains, who were banded to support the saint, seized this admirable person, stripped her of her garments, and tore her limb from limb.

This Cyril is one of Rome's saints; the illustrious guardian of the honours of the mother of our Lord! But does not history declare him as bloody as he was rapacious? In one word, was he not a *wolf?* So far I agree with Dean Milman. But I deny that Cyril's special tenet was a Christian tenet.

The tenet by which Cyril is best known, is that which asserts Mary to have been the mother of God. Now this cannot justly be called a *Christian* tenet. Christ never said so, nor any of his apostles. What put it into Cyril's head, that he could speak more suitably and truthfully of Christ's mother than Christ himself? Did not Peter lay down the law for every man (1 Ep. iv. 11): "If any one speaketh, let it be as God's oracles." Where do God's oracles speak of God's mother? No! It was not The *Holy* Spirit that inspired the Egyptian wolf with his midnight howl: "*The Mother of God.*"

Had his rival, Nestorius of Constantinople, known how to use his Bible, as a preacher ought, he would not have rushed into long, eloquent, metaphorical harangues about matters of which he knew nothing, any more than the fool who envied him. He answered "the fool according to his folly;" and, as a necessary consequence,

" made him wise in his own conceit." Had he answered him according to the wisdom of the Holy Spirit and of Peter, he would have said: The oracles of God do not speak like you: are you wiser than they? Will *you* teach the Holy Spirit and Peter who wrote through him? If this had not charmed the wolf into silence, Nestorius might have been sure, that what the wisdom of God failed to cure, was beyond his skill.

Possibly it might have been better to have said not one word, remembering what Paul wrote to the Romans, and has been already quoted (p. 12): " But I exhort you, brethren, to have an eye on those who are making divisions and stumbling-blocks among you, aside from the teaching which ye learned and turn away from them." This new title, *the Mother of God*, was dividing Christians into two* parties, the Cyrillians who were clamouring for the title, and the Nestorians who were clamouring against it. They were thus falling into hatred and envy and all the mischiefs springing from hatred and envy. The new title was therefore a stumbling-block, as well as a divider. No matter how much Cyril was pretending to honour Christ by honouring his mother. His invention of God-mother† was *aside from*‡ God's oracles; and, as it was making divisions and stumbling-blocks, every wise man, in obedience to Paul's direction, should have left him to himself, " turned away from him."

This wisdom however was not to be found in the apostasy that was now triumphant. The whole Christian world took sides in this mad strife (except those despised sects of Novatian, Vigilentius, Aerius, etc., whom both sides persecuted), and as the current was running strong towards idolatry in the worship of the Virgin, no wonder if Cyril had a large majority on his side. The

* διχοσ. † θεοτοκοσ. ‡ παρὰ. See note, p. 12, etc.

monks formed a noisy part of that majority, and, as they were now swarming everywhere, they formed a party equally dangerous and stupid. The monks of Constantinople were at one with those of Alexandria, and one of the former having dared to denounce Nestorius as a heretic when going to offer the sacrifice, as they called it now, and to forbid him the use of his own altar, no wonder if the patriarch lost temper, and, as he had the power, commanded the fellow to be scourged and turned out of the city. This measure he served out to the more troublesome of his enemies, for the boy-emperor, Theodosius II., the feeble son of a great father, was, as yet, on his side. The emperor's mother, however, who had the boy in her leading strings, had not yet turned against Nestorius, though he seemed to be opposing the honour of the woman who had brought such honour to the sex.

When Cyril, then, took in hand the great work of pulling down Nestorius, he began by writing four letters: one to his ferocious and faithful body-guards, the monks of Egypt, about their war-cry, "the Mother of God;" another to Theodosius; a third to his mother and sister; and the last to Nestorius. The one to the emperor began by addressing him as "the image of God upon earth; as the Divine Majesty fills heaven and awes the angels; so his serene dignity, the earth, and is the source of all human happiness." Of course the mother of this god on earth could hardly do less than salute the Virgin as the mother of the God in heaven; and Cyril's letter to her would no doubt flatter her as cunningly, as that to the son did him. By his "kind talking"* and "good talking"† Cyril was showing himself to be one of those "makers of divisions and stumbling-blocks" "*aside from*"

* ευλαλ. † ευλογ. See p. 13.

apostolic teaching, against whom Paul warned the Church of Rome (Rom. xvi. 17, 18).

It was to Celestine, Bishop of that Church, that Cyril and Nestorius, the leaders of "the two parties,"* now appealed for help. Nestorius was first in his appeal; but unfortunately it was written in Greek, and Celestine could not read it, any more than those about him. So it had to be sent to Gaul to the learned Cassian to be turned into Latin. Cyril took care to have his memorial turned into Latin before he sent it; and was therefore heard first. A Roman Council met and condemned Nestorius. Celestine at once authorized Cyril to insist on a recantation from Nestorius; and in case of his refusal to pronounce his excommunication. Nestorius insisted, more than ever, on the impiety of the title, Mother of God. Cyril pronounced twelve anathemas against the heretic of Constantinople; but Nestorius hurled as many back at the heretic† of Alexandria.

Cyril's bolts, however, fell as harmless as those of his adversary, who was still strong in the favour of Theodosius. The mother and sister, who held him in their hands, however disposed they might feel to worship womanhood in Mary, must have been provoked at the insolence of the Roman priest ordering their patriarch to be silent, and to own himself excommunicated. Theodosius, therefore, denounced Cyril as a mischief-maker, who had filled the world with strife, and even dared to meddle in his imperial palace; and ordered him to await the decision of an Œcumenical Council in the City of

* διχοστασιας.

† This word does not mean, *scripturally*, a man in error on some point of doctrine, but a factious man, a *sectarian*, and αἱρετικος should always be so translated. Our patriarchs were therefore, unconsciously speaking the truth of each other. They were both bitter party men, as well as persecutors, though Cyril was by far the more bitter of the two.

Ephesus (431), to be held at Pentecost: the fifty days after Easter being employed in preparing for the meeting. The imperial device, which had so fatally failed at Nicæa and Constantinople, was to be tried once more, and as the scenes at Ephesus were infinitely more scandalous than ever, as there was no Constantine, or Theodosius the Great, to keep the bishops in order, it would be singular if the results of the Council proved happy. Mosheim declares: "The Council of Ephesus, instead of healing these divisions, only inflamed them more and more, and almost destroyed all hope of restoring concord and tranquillity to the Church."

If Mosheim is not mistaken, the wolves were in Ephesus once more. We remember they* were there hundreds of years before, when John told the Ephesians they had tried those who called themselves apostles, and found them liars. This claim to apostleship was the sheep skin which the wolves put on, but the Ephesians at first plucked off the skins, and the wolves were silent "for a season." So Paul's prediction seemed to fail; but it was now, after hundreds of years, to be proved true. Cyril was a cruel rapacious wolf in Alexandria, both to Jew and Christian. His manners were not improved by the air of Ephesus.

Cyril came full speed, with fifty Egyptian bishops followed by a crowd of bath men from Alexandria, and women zealous for the "Mother of God." Memnon, the prelate of Ephesus, had thirty of his suffragans. He was a notorious enemy of Nestorius, who had only sixteen bishops, and the rabble of Constantinople and its suburbs. Candidian, count of the domestics, came with troops as the representative of the emperor, to maintain order while the bishops debated, and to allow no extraneous subject to be introduced. He was also to permit

* See p. 17.

no bishop to leave the city under any pretext, and to drive out all strangers, monks and laymen, that no hindrance might occur to the deliberations.

The duties of Candidian were very weighty—as delicate as they were difficult. They demanded a clear determined mind, as well as a ready strong hand. These the imperial commissioner failed to show in the hour of trial. Pentecost, the time fixed for opening the Council, was now past, but John of Antioch had not appeared with the Eastern bishops. Cyril began to clamour for proceeding to business. Candidian wished to wait for John and the rest, as Nestorius insisted on doing. Letters came from John. Famine and insurrections had kept him in Antioch, and inundations had delayed him on his journey, but he was now six stages from Ephesus. As Cyril, however, did not wish for his presence, he got his faction together, and prepared to commence proceedings. Nestorius would not appear while the Eastern bishops were absent, and Candidian hastened to interpose the imperial authority.

But he knew not how to wield it. Instead of peremptorily, as Theodosius' commissioner, arresting all business, sternly reprimanding their daring insolence in presuming to move a step without him, and ordering them instantly to withdraw, if they did not wish to be pulled out by his soldiers, he tried to coax them to await John and his bishops, assuring them they were acting against the rescript of the emperor. They professed ignorance of what the rescript contained, and asked to hear it read. Instead of telling them their demand was a great aggravation of their previous insolence and ignorance, and that if they did not on the instant disperse, he would order in his troops, he actually read the rescript, and at once they shouted: "The Council is now legalized."

The commissioner was bewildered. He thought they were expressing their loyal readiness to abide by the rescript; but he was instantly commanded to leave the Council, of which he was not a member, and he walked out; but it was not to come with his guard. Clearly, Candidian was no Cromwell. He had no skill in wolf-taming.

Cyril had now a clear field for his operations. Of course he took the chair, though it was in his own cause; and his secretary, Peter, stated the dispute between his archbishop in the chair and Nestorius, who, as struck with Cyril's and Celestine's anathema, was not allowed to show face. His sixteen bishops were summarily expelled as Nestorian heretics, already condemned. Cyril told them they had already waited sixteen days; and they must now decide what was "for the advantage of all that was under heaven." Nestorius was commanded thrice to come before the Council; and when he refused to put himself into the hands of those who had prejudged him, the Nicene Creed was read. More than 150 bishops rose in succession, each assenting to the homoousion, and winding up with an anathema on Nestorius. All then broke out in a universal shout of "anathema," "anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius." Cyril then finished his *one day's* work by the Council's decree: "Jesus Christ himself, blasphemed by Nestorius, declares him deposed from his episcopal rank, and from all his episcopal functions."

Jesus Christ indeed! No, it was Cyril; but no doubt Cyril thought Jesus Christ "altogether like himself."* It was to no purpose that Nestorius protested he did not differ in the smallest degree from anything that the Council had decided. Cyril would not hear him; but de-

* Ps. l. 21.

clared it was not enough to assent to the Creed of Nicæa. The assent must be given "in the *sense* of the bishops"! As if the bishops were showing an atom of "*sense*" in their mad proceedings.

Five days after this scene of injustice, envy, and madness, had been consummated, John of Antioch arrived with his band; but only to be insulted by those who had forestalled them. Candidian indeed received them with all respect, and complained of the violence, precipitation, and shameless prejudice of Cyril and his followers. John, immediately, under the sanction of the imperial commissioner, presided in another Council of forty or fifty prelates, condemned Cyril and his crew as tainted with Arianism, and deposed the "*most religious Cyril*," (such was prelatic etiquette) and Memnon, and the whole 150, from their sees, cursing them all without exception. Cyril of course cursed in return, and as he had more than three to one to help him, he rather drowned the voices of John, Nestorius, and the rest.

While this deplorable scene was going on, Pope Celestine's letters came, and did not mend matters at all. Of course, they confirmed all that Cyril had done. Their curses sounded more awful than ever, when swelled by the anathemas of Celestine (*tantaene animis celestibus iræ*), for of all who have gone into this horrid business of cursing, the Pope, it must be allowed, has distanced all competitors, in the compass, copiousness, and cordiality of his curses. "He clothed himself in cursing." However, when the letters had been read, a little variety was introduced; the saints gave over cursing and fell to thanksgivings. They all rose and shouted: "Thanks to the second Paul, Celestine; to the second Paul, Cyril; to Celestine, protector of the faith; to Celestine, unani-

mous with the Council. One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith in the whole Council, one faith throughout the world." Had Paul been present, he might have told the Ephesian prelates, as he did the Thessalonians (1 Ep. v. 18.): "In everything be giving thanks" to God—not to yourselves; and when they had done their cursing, he might have exhorted them, as he did the Romans (xii. 14.): "Bless those who are persecuting you: bless and do not curse;" and reminded them of the words of Him, whose name they had just so awfully profaned (Luke vi. 28): "Bless those who are cursing you;" and he might have concluded: I told the presbyters of Ephesus once: Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit placed you as bishops, to tend the congregation of the Lord, which He purchased through his own blood. *I* know that there will enter after my departure, tearing wolves among you, not sparing the flock; and from among yourselves shall rise up men speaking crooked things to draw away the disciples after them. My prediction is fulfilled. You have risen up from among the elders, and are now tearing one another in pieces, as well as all who will not follow your crooked ways. Where are the successors of those faithful men, first chosen by the disciples' hands which were guided by the Holy Spirit, and then appointed by apostles to tend the flock of God—the men who met me at Miletus, and wept on my neck a long farewell? You call yourselves my successors, but when —where did I ever appoint men like you? Where are the descendants of the beloved men, whom I warned with tears night and day for two years, knowing what was to come. *I* coveted no man's silver or gold. These hands supplied my wants and those of my brethren. How many hands are needed to supply yours? And now,

"vainly puffed up by the mind of the flesh, and stepping into things which you have not seen," you have come across the sea and from all lands, pretending to honour the mother of my Lord, but really to multiply the stumbling-blocks, over which the nations that are called by his name are falling into idolatry.

"When the people of Ephesus had learned that the Fathers of the Council had decided that they might call the Virgin: '*Mother of God*,' they were transported with joy, they kissed the hands of the bishops, they embraced their knees, all the city resounded with acclamations." So Cyril declares in one of his letters. The saint was no doubt charmed with the devoted kisses of these bawling Ephesians; his episcopal knees were strengthened by the embraces of his slaves. Ephesus was now very like what it was in the days of Paul, about four hundred years before, when the craftsmen shouted two hours: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." A new idol, called Mary, had supplanted Diana. The glorious temple had merely changed its name. Cyril had come in the place of Demetrius, and the cursing bishops, in that of the shouting *craftsmen*. I owe the quotation from Cyril to Montesquieu (L'Esprit des Lois, v. ii. 175).

The Council of Ephesus then, like those of Nicæa and Constantinople, instead of settling the disputes of the Church, was only adding fuel to fire. Here was Council cursing Council, and blood flowing in the streets of the city, while Bishop Memnon was heading an assault on the friends of Nestorius. As Candidian was plainly no match for Cyril and Memnon, the emperor sent a new commissioner called John, to bring them to terms. He was to confirm the sentences of both the Councils. Cyril and Memnon, as well as Nestorius and John, were to be deposed, and he ordered the combatants to appear

before him. Nestorius and John of Antioch came at once. Cyril was not so prompt, and Memnon absolutely refused to come.

But now a new perplexity presented itself. Cyril and his band would not tolerate the presence of excommunicated heretics like Nestorius and Bishop John. These of course insisted, that it was Cyril and his Council that were the heretics. It was natural they should fall to fighting, when the cursing failed. So Commissioner John was compelled to call in his soldiers, to restore the peace among these self-styled successors of the apostles. When the imperial order deposing Cyril and Memnon was read, the phrensy broke out again so fiercely, that the commissioner was compelled, impartially, to arrest both sides. Nestorius and John of Antioch submitted quietly; but Cyril harangued the people, protesting that the doctrine of the apostles was persecuted, but since he was as innocent as an apostle, he would submit like an apostle. His friend Memnon was still at large; but at last he surrendered.

And now what was to be done with the prisoners? Episcopal prisoners are apt to prove dangerous, unless a Cromwell and a Pym are the keepers. Water cannot rise above the level of its source; and Commissioner John could not be more energetic than Theodosius and his court. So Cyril was allowed to escape; a committee of sixteen bishops, eight for each side, met at Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople, to decide whether Mary should be styled "the Mother of God."

And now Cyril, like an independent sovereign, carried on the war against Nestorius. He fought with the golden sword; and it proved irresistible with the courtiers of Constantinople, and even with the sister of Theodosius, the powerful Pulcheria. Alexandria was im-

poverished to supply the rapacity of Constantinople. The Nestorian bishops complained that the Egyptian gold was irresistible. As the imperial balance inclined against them, they began to rid themselves of Nestorius. He found it expedient to resign, and to retire to a monastery in Antioch where he had commenced his career. Maximian contrived to take his place, who was a great patron of the mysterious phrase "Mother of God!" Pulcheria declared at last for the title, and was glorified by the monks and their rabble, whenever she appeared in public; and Cyril remained victor on the hard fought field. The miserable retreat of the monastery in Antioch was grudged to the unhappy Nestorius. An edict from his former patron, Theodosius, banished him to the deserts of Egypt. But he was not allowed to rest even in the wilderness. Dragged from one place to another, and worn out with age and fatigue, he found rest only in the grave. This third Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, this monstrous scene of phrensy and violence, bribery, bloodshed and blasphemy, would not have been complete had it not been followed by an edict of persecution against Nestorianism. Poor Theodosius had summoned the Council for the very purpose of putting down Cyril, and sustaining his favourite Nestorius. And behold the end. "Put not your trust in princes."

Eighteen years after the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, Flavian was patriarch of Constantinople, and Dioscorus had taken the place of Cyril in Alexandria. Cyril's successor was, if possible, a more violent tyrant than himself: of course the old war was still carried on between the two sees. Flavian had called a synod in his city, which condemned Eutyches, the archimandrite, or abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood, as a heretic for denying the two natures of Christ. This monk had

played a great part in those uproars that had wearied the feeble Theodosius into giving up Nestorius. He also happened to be godfather to Chrysaphius the eunuch, who acted as minister to the emperor. This man wished his godfather to supplant Flavian in the patriarchate, and the wrangle about the person of Christ seemed a suitable weapon to effect his purpose.

Eutyches refused to submit to Flavian's synod, and appealed to a General Council. Theodosius once more summoned the bishops to meet in Ephesus, and he appointed Dioscorus to preside.

This was no doubt the eunuch's management. He knew if Flavian was to be overthrown, it was Dioscorus who could be relied on to accomplish it. The acts of the Synod of Constantinople were reviewed with all the noise, violence, and precipitation, of the former Council. Eusebius, of Doryleum, had mainly helped to condemn Eutyches; and when his question to Eutyches was read as to his acknowledging the two natures, the Council broke out into shouts of: "Away with Eusebius! Banish Eusebius! Let him be burned alive! As he cuts asunder the two natures in Christ, so let him be cut asunder!" Dioscorus puts the question: "Is the doctrine that there are two natures, after the incarnation, to be tolerated?" "Accursed be he who says so!" cried the holy fathers. "I have your voices," said the president, "I must have your hands. He who cannot cry, let him lift up his hands." With one voice they all shouted: "Accursed be he who says there are two." Flavian appealed, but he never lived to carry out the appeal; for Dioscorus, Cyril's worthy successor,* and his

* Dean Milman will not allow Cyril to be as bad as Dioscorus. I do not see much to choose between the two. Dioscorus murdered Flavian, and did not Cyril by his furious harangue stimulate his monks to tear

bishops fell upon the patriarch, and beat him, so that he died in a few days.

Milman states (p. 205, v. 1, L. C.) in concluding his account of this Council: "This was the first, but not the last, Christian Council, that was defiled with blood." He seems to forget what he mentions (pp. 167, 169), where we are told of Memnon of Ephesus heading a sally at the Œcumenical Council, against John of Antioch, "not without much bloodshed;" and of "the battle" of the bishops in the presence of John the imperial commissioner. What is, however, of far greater moment, is, that the first effect of the Council of Nicæa was persecution of the Arians, exchanged in three years by that of the orthodox; and that this went on during fifty-six years, till the Council of Constantinople, when the edict of Theodosius the Great added the persecution of Pagans to that of the heretics. The bloody code of Theodosius was continued by his successors, whether Catholic or Protestant, till near the eighteenth century.

Mosheim declares: "The Greeks called this Council of Ephesus a band or '*assembly of robbers,*' to signify

the incomparable Hypatia in pieces? If her ghost haunted the pillow of the patriarch, he might, to be sure, say with Macbeth: "Thou can'st not say *I* did it." But then the Dean tells us in a note (p. 203, v. 1 Lat. Ch.): "Dioscorus wanted the severe and unimpeached austerity of Cyril. He was said to have had a mistress named Irene. He is the subject of the well-known epigram which illustrates Alexandrian wit and boldness—

'Ειρήνη πάντεσσιν,' Επίσκοπος ἔιπεν ἐπελθών
'Πῶς δύναται πάντεσσ', ἣν μόνος ἔνδον ἐχει.'"

It is hardly fair in the Dean to keep all the wit for himself and his Grecians. *Irene* means *peace:*

"*Peace* for all," said the bishop when he came:
"How *can* she be for all, when he keeps her all for himself?"

Greek should not shelter such men—especially bishops. I am not of Constantine's mind. See the emperor's address to the Nicæan Fathers, p. 56.

that everything was carried in it by fraud or violence, and many Councils indeed in this and the following ages, are equally entitled to the same dishonourable appellation."

The conclusion is irresistible, that some infernal fallacy lurked in all these assemblies, which, called avowedly to promote concord, invariably ended, sooner or later, in confusion and blood. And that fallacy plainly is, that, what the words of God have failed, by human perverseness, to settle, might be settled by the words of man. Milman says, on the whole, fairly enough (p. 157, L.C.): "Nowhere is Christianity less attractive, and, if we look to the ordinary tone and character of the proceedings, less authoritative, than in the Councils of the Church. It is in general a fierce collision of rival factions, neither of which will yield, each of which is solemnly pledged against conviction. Intrigues, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, decisions by wild acclamation rather than after sober inquiry, detract from the reverence, and impugn the judgments, at least of the later Councils."

I would deny that such monstrous scenes are Christianity at all; and I am sure there is no necessity for this last qualification. The Councils denounced and lamented by Hilary, and Gregory Nazianzen, were the first, those of Nicæa and Constantinople, etc.; and we have found the mild Mosheim reluctantly ratifying their sentence. "*Decisions on authority* ALONE," when God has spoken once, yea twice, to whom power belongs" (Ps. lxii.), are really such flagrant impieties, that it would be strange indeed, if they ever had any other result than shame, confusion, and misery. It is an awful, but to every one who loves, as much as he trembles at, the word of God, a delightful demonstration of the lightness of the wisdom

and word of man, when weighed against the word and wisdom of God. Twice have we heard this: "*It is written,*" saith the fervid, eloquent apostle: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the intelligence of the intelligent I will set aside;—where is a wise one? Where a writer, where a wrangler of this age? Did not God befool the wisdom of this world?" "For the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Cor. i. 20; Isa. xxix. 14; xxxiii. 18).

The fatal experiment was again tried, only three years after the Robber Council of Ephesus, at Chalcedon, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The Council there was called by the Emperor Marcion, an experienced statesman, who had married Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II. This ambitious woman had controlled her feeble brother, so far as the favourite eunuch did not check her. Theodosius was killed suddenly by a fall from his horse, and Pulcheria found it advisable to share the sovereign power with a leading politician. Marcion showed his policy by making Chalcedon the seat of the Council, as it enabled him more effectually to influence the decisions.

So convinced was Leo the Great, who now ruled at Rome, of this fact, that he laboured with all his might, to persuade the Emperor of the West to call the Council at Rome. It is said, he even went on his knees to gain his point. This man is extolled by Milman, as "the only great name in the empire during his pontificate." He had a majestic presence, and a fearless heart. He did not quail either before Attila, "the scourge of God," or before Genseric, the savage Vandal. While asserting Rome's new supremacy, which, in the name of Christ, she was proclaiming to the world, he took care to maintain his absolute power in his own city. He therefore re-

morselessly persecuted the Manicheans, as incurable heretics, by driving them from Rome. Nor was he content with driving them from Rome. Under his prompting, Valentinian III. confirmed the bloody edicts of Theodosius and his successors, by which heretics were harassed and destroyed. Leo declares in his letters that an investigation, before the senate, brought out a confession by the Manichean bishop, that a tender maiden had been violated in their meeting; that the perpetrator of the crime pleaded guilty to the horrible charge, and those who had been present confirmed it. Such stories were told against the Christians in former days, to furnish an excuse for murdering them, and now those calling themselves Catholic Christians pursued a similar policy.*

* Dean Milman is evidently desirous of sparing the character of Leo, as much as possible, from the odium of inflicting capital punishment for heresy; but the truth is, he "defended the propriety of putting heretics to death." (Epis. xv. *ad Turribium.*) The Dean rather countenances the story about the tender maiden. Dr. Schaff is also a great admirer of Leo: "He wisely improved the perplexed state of affairs to enhance the authority of the papal see" (vol. iii. p. 740). This *wisdom* of Leo was not "from above," but was "earthly, sensual, fiend-like." Heavenly wisdom is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easily persuaded, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy" (Jas. iii. 15—17). Leo's wisdom was the opposite of all these. He abused his great abilities to make the Pope, that is himself, a god on earth. The "Papal see" was the headquarters of "the apostasy;" the greatest mischief that ever befel the world, if Christianity, *as taught by its author and his apostles*, is the only remedy for man's miseries. Dean Milman's account (pp. 182, 183, 184) seems evidently partial, and somewhat incoherent. He tells us, the public investigation brought out a confession of the Manichean bishop of the violation of the girl, along with a confession of the perpetrator, and of the Manichean congregation who witnessed it! How was the confession obtained? Under threat of torture? What does such a confession prove, except the absurd barbarism of those who extorted it? Or are we to believe that the Manicheans *voluntarily* made themselves so infamous? The Dean says nothing of Leo's previous private investigation, which paved the way for the public one. We know that Pope Symmachus' slaves, some years afterward, were tortured. Would more tenderness be shown to the

Leo was great as a preacher, and he was the best writer of the age, now that Augustine was gone. His letter to Flavian, which the Robber Council had contemptuously rejected, was not only read, but endorsed, by that great Council which we are now to consider. If ever a Council was called under favourable circumstances, that of Chalcedon was so pre-eminently. Finding it impossible to gain his point, of having the new Council called in the West, Leo acquiesced in Marcion's arrangement, and sent representatives to extend and consolidate the power of the Popedom, and his own. But, with every conceivable advantage for securing harmony throughout Christendom, it failed—failed ignominiously. God again "befooled the wisdom of this world." "The remedy applied by this Council," says Mosheim, "to heal the wounds of a torn and divided Church, proved really worse than the disease; for a great number of Oriental and Egyptian doctors, though of various characters and different opinions in other respects, united in opposing with the utmost vehemence the Council of Chalcedon and the epistle of Leo, which that assembly had adopted as a rule of faith, and were unanimous in maintaining an unity of nature, as well as of person, in Jesus Christ. Hence arose deplorable discords and civil wars, whose fury and barbarity were carried to the most excessive and incredible lengths." And all about the natures and person of Jesus Christ! The meek, the

most abhorred of all the heretics than to slaves? He winds up his very lame account of this horrible transaction by assuring his reader that "the cause of the severity of the law was their (the Manicheans) flagrant and disgraceful immorality." Rome was then a holy city! Nothing *flagrantly* or *disgracefully* immoral was tolerated there! The "good work" of the Roman bishopric was so ardently "desired" that the priests were habitually and periodically slaughtering one another to seize it. Of course *they* could not tolerate "flagrant and disgraceful immorality!"

lowly in heart, who said: "By this shall all men come to know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another." Surely, if in a world so full of mutual hatred as this naturally is, mutual love was the sure mark, that those, who were blessed by it, were disciples of the Lord Jesus, the bloody contentions and barbarous civil wars, which those calling themselves Christians — Catholic Christians—were now waging with each other, were a clear proof, that neither party was really Christian at all. "Ye are my friends," said Christ, "if ye do what *I** command you." And yet these self-styled Catholics, who were filling the world with mutual slaughter, doing in short the very things which Christ had most of all forbidden, fancied they alone were his friends. "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man; but the end thereof are the ways of death" (Prov. xiv. 12).

And now let us examine the constitution and working of that famous Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, which all Catholics, whether Roman or Anglican, agree to glorify. It was called, as already stated, by Marcion, the husband of Pulcheria, and the place selected for the Council showed that the monkish influence, which, through the court eunuch, had controlled Theodosius II., was now at an end. Abbot Eutyches, the godfather of the eunuch Chrysaphius, had been omnipotent in the Robber Council of Ephesus; but the sudden death of Theodosius prevented him from reaping the expected fruit of the murder of Flavian, by occupying his place in the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Paschasianus, one of the Papal legates, presided. There were six commissioners who represented the majesty of Marcion. About six hundred bishops came from every part of the East; the West being represented by Leo's legates.

* ἐγώ.

The Council, first, disannulled the act of the Robber Council in deposing Flavian and Eusebius. It then proceeded to judge Dioscorus, and five of his more notorious partisans; the vast majority of the robbers of Ephesus being loudly penitent, protesting they had been compelled by violence to act with Dioscorus. Their plea was allowed; but Dioscorus and his five were deposed. The imperial commissioners, however, would not allow the validity of the act, till it had been confirmed by Marcion. It was all in vain that Dioscorus clamoured: "They are condemning not me alone, but Athanasius and Cyril." He had the effrontery to add: "They forbid us to assert the two natures after the incarnation;" the very dogma for which he had beaten Flavian to death. When the reading of the acts of deposition was completed, they broke out into wild shouts of glory to the Emperor and senate, appeals to God, and anathemas on Dioscorus: "Christ has deposed Dioscorus; Christ has deposed the murderers; God has avenged his martyrs."

The following session was occupied in condemning the Eutychians, who denied the two natures in Christ. The creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople were again affirmed. Two letters of Cyril, and Leo's famous letter to Flavian, which the Robbers at Ephesus "spit upon,"* were endorsed in the usual style of frantic outcries: "This is the belief of the Fathers—of the Apostles!" "So believe we all!" "Accursed be he who admits not that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo!" "Leo has taught what is righteous and true; and so taught Cyril!" "Eternal be the memory of Cyril!" "Why was not this read at Ephesus? It was suppressed by Dioscorus!" Then the cries of the penitent bishops who had joined in the suppression, confessing their crime, mingled with the

* ἐμπτύω.

shouts of the enemies of Dioscorus: "Away with the Egyptian!" "The Egyptian into exile!"

The commissioners had great difficulty in preventing the bishops from turning the Council of Chalcedon into the "Robber Council" of Ephesus; and indeed the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus was little better, where everything had been carried by wild yells, which savage Indians never allowed to mingle in *their* councils. Such "vulgar* bawlings," the imperial laymen somewhat sharply told the prelates, were not seemly in them. No doubt Leo's legates helped the commissioners to keep some order. The sentence against Dioscorus was silent about his murders, his incontinence, his rapacity. Even his heresy was not mentioned, and, though the deacon Ischyrion offered to prove by witnesses the murders of which Dioscorus had been guilty, he was silenced. Leo's representatives were well aware it was their interest, as well as their master's, that Dioscorus, the patriarch, should be disgraced as little as possible, and that whatever disgrace was inflicted, should be for the maintenance of episcopal discipline, and above all for strengthening the Papacy. Accordingly, the sentence, which was read by one of the legates, merely declared that "Dioscorus, sometime Bishop of Alexandria, had been found guilty of divers ecclesiastical offences. To pass over many, he had admitted Eutyches, a man under excommunication by lawful authority, into communion; he had haughtily repelled all remonstrances; he had refused to read the epistle of Leo at the Council of Ephesus; he had even aggravated his guilt by daring to place the Bishop of Rome himself under interdict. Leo, therefore, by their

* *ἐκβοήσεις δημοτικαί.* Dean Milman says *a few of the bishops* joined with the commissioners in repressing the "bawlings." I do not know his authority; but it is charitable to hope it was so.

voice, and with the authority of the Council, in the name of the Apostle Peter, the rock and foundation of the Church, deposes Dioscorus from his episcopal dignity, and excludes him from all Christian rights and privileges."*

The work, then, of putting down Dioscorus was well done; but the far greater work of putting down the Eutychian heresy, and clearly defining the constitution of Christ's person, failed ignominiously, and far worse than failed; for while it necessarily left the whole subject in its former mystery, it extended and embittered the endless "word-fights" about the natures of Christ, all over the East. The letter of Leo, so glorified by the Fathers of Chalcedon, merely reiterated, with ingenious variety of phrase, the fact that Christ was at once God and man. But, it did not accomplish this, without flatly contradicting Christ. In a most eloquent passage, he says: "As a man he was tempted by the craft of the devil; as God he was waited on by the angels.† To hunger, to thirst, to grow weary, to sleep, is evidently human; but, with five loaves, to satisfy five thousand men, largely to give living water to the Samaritan woman—a draught which enabled the drinker to thirst no more; over the surface of the sea, to walk with unsinking soles, and to frighten the waves swelling with boisterous tempest—is undoubtedly divine."

This indeed is splendid, but as an argument on the point in hand, it is worse than useless. For if it means anything, it implies that the agent in Christ's miracles was the second person of the Godhead. It was "the Word that became flesh." But Christ distinctly declares

* Milman's Lat. Chris. v. i. 209.

† The antithesis fails. All Christians are like Christ in this: they are all served by angels (Heb. i. 14).

(John xiv. 10), "But the Father, abiding in me, himself doeth the works." It is thus that the "wisdom of man is foolishness with God;" when it *will* be "wise above what is written."* It was enough for the apostles, and presbyters whom they appointed, to proclaim the God-man as the Saviour of the world, without puzzling themselves and their hearers about the mysteries involved in that union. As they did not know, any more than ourselves, how soul and body are united in man, they would not have allowed any curious fool to stop them in their divine work of saving souls, by queries about the nature of the union between the Word and the flesh, which he took of the virgin. And the apostolic presbyters, for two hundred years, followed the example of the apostles, in avoiding all such "foolish questions." It was thus that all the primitive triumphs of Christ were accomplished. But the men, who, out of presbyters, rose into prelates, entered into their labours, and spoiled them, by "philosophy and vain deceit"—the very things of which Paul warned the Colossians to beware (Col. ii. 8.).

In saying that the divine and human natures were united in Christ to form *one person*, Leo uses a form of expression that has been adopted equally by Romanist and Protestant. It is however a form of words not found in Scripture, and it explains nothing. The only place (Heb. i. 3) where *person* is applied to God in E. V., it should be expunged, as *hypostasis*, the word there used, properly signifies *substance*. Nowhere, then, is the word in Scripture applied to either Father, Son, or Holy Spirit. It is an invention of man, and as such has led to strife, not to the advancement, but the destruction, of true godliness.

* 1 Cor. iv. 6, "That by us you may learn the lesson: Nothing above what is written."

If not contrary to apostolic teaching, it seems at any rate "*aside* from*" it; neither Christ nor his apostles ever using the word in connection with the Godhead.

In the use of that fatal Nicene compound, *homoousion*, the Fathers at Chalcedon seemed not to know what they were saying, for they employ the word in two totally different senses,† in the same breath. They declare that, Christ is of the same substance with the Father, as to his Godhead, and of the same substance with us, as to his manhood. In the former use of the word the Fathers mean to assert that the Son is numerically one with the Father; in the latter, they do not mean that he is one with us, any more than all men that ever were, or will be, born, are one with each other—that is, generically, as partakers of the human nature. If they understood the

* παρα, p. 12, see note.

† Dr. Schaff, who greatly admires the Creed of Chalcedon, as well as the letter of Pope Leo, allows there "is a shade of difference": the difference, however, is just as great as between one, and all the thousands of millions of mankind. That all these wranglings about the divine nature, carried on in language unknown to the apostles, are worse than useless, seems probable from the fact that the ablest and most orthodox cannot see eye to eye, even after the most painful explanations. Dr. W. Cunningham cannot state matters so as fully to satisfy Dr. Schaff (see Dr. S.'s Hist. Chris. Ch., v. iii. 655); and Dr. Shedd is as unsuccessful, concerning the person of Christ. (See v. iii. p. 755, c. 4.) Probably Dr. Shedd is just as little satisfied with Dr. Schaff, who tells us (loc. cit.): "As the human personality consists of such a union of the material and spiritual natures, that the spirit is the ruling principle and personal centre, so does the person of Christ consist in such a union of the human and divine natures that the divine nature is the seat of self-consciousness, and pervades and animates the human." Does this not assert that the soul of our Lord had no consciousness nor life except the divine? And if so, how could it be a rational human soul? When he cried: "Now is my *soul* exceeding sorrowful even unto death," was not his soul the seat of the sorrow? Was it the *divine* nature that was agonized in the garden? Does not this explanation seem to run into a confounding of the natures, that is into Eutychianism? Is it not the same as Cyril's απαθως επαθε: He suffered without suffering?

word as applied to the Godhead, in the same sense as they applied it to manhood, they were making three Gods.

It is important to notice that the creed as at last agreed on, was brought forward by the imperial commissioners; and the emperor ordered all the clergy, the military, and the citizens, to receive the faith of Chalcedon, threatening degradation to all who opposed it; and took care that a canon should be passed, asserting the *equality* of the chair of Constantinople with that of Rome. Leo abhorred *that*.

But all the policy and power of Marcion, combined with all the influence of the Council of Chalcedon, utterly and ignominiously failed. Milman, like Mosheim, is forced to confess the disgraceful fact. "The Council of Chalcedon," says the former, "had commanded, had defined the orthodox creed in vain. Everywhere its decrees were received or rejected according to the dominant party in each city, and the opinions of the reigning emperor. On all the metropolitan thrones there were rival bishops, anathematizing each other, and each supported, either by the civil power, by a part of the populace, or by the monks, more fierce and unruly than the unruly populace." . . . "We are impatient of these dreary and intricate feuds. That of Alexandria it must not be said ended, for it might seem interminable, but came to a crisis in the horrible assassination of Proterius. So little had centuries of Christianity tamed the savage populace of this great city, that the bishop was not only murdered in the baptistery, but his body treated with shameless indignity, and other enormities perpetrated which might have appalled a cannibal." (Lat. Chris., v. i. pp. 226, 227, 228.)

For the honour of Christ I must protest against these horrible atrocities being connected with the name of Christianity. It was two centuries of Christianity grown

apostate, first under prelates alone, and then under prelates, and emperors, and monks combined, that covered the empire with these outrages. Christianity, as taught by Paul of Tarsus and his brethren, and by the presbyters who followed them, by Clement of Rome, by Papias, by Polycarp, by Ignatius, by Irenæus, by Justin Martyr, by Tertullian, filled the cities of the empire with holy men, that confounded the Pagans, and made them exclaim: "Behold! How these Christians love one another!" But two centuries of episcopal Christianity, as taught by *Paul* of *Samosata*, by the Eusebiuses, by Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus, by Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Damasus; and enforced by the code of Constantine, and the still more bloody code of Theodosius, compelled the Pagan Ammianus to stigmatize the Catholics of his day as more savage to each other than the wolf and the tiger.

The same frantic scenes of outrage and mutual murder, that disgraced Alexandria, were enacted in Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome. It had been well if this madness had been limited to the great cities; but Milman informs us: "But it is not insurrection in Constantinople alone, the empire is in revolt on the question of the two natures of Christ. The first great religious war, alas! for many centuries not the last! imperils the tottering throne of Anastasius. The Thracian Vitalianus is in open rebellion; obtains a great victory over the imperial general Hypatius; wastes Thrace, depopulates the whole country—the whole realm, up to the gates of Constantinople. He is before the city at the head of 60,000 men. His banner, his war-cry is that of religious orthodoxy. He proclaims himself the champion, not of an oppressed people, of a nobility indignant at the tyranny of their sovereign, but of the Council of Chalcedon" (Lat. Chris., v. i. p. 247).

An "empire in revolt on the question of the two natures of Christ"! For two centuries there had been no "question about the two natures of Christ." The great fact that "the word became flesh," was the foundation of the "good news" that proclaimed "peace on earth, good-will to men."* By what infernal sleight of hand had the message of peace and good-will become the war-cry of maddened nations? Here is a triumph of Satanic magic, which it were well for all Christians to meditate. It was simply by forgetting the fact, while fighting about the manner of the fact: ignoring what God had revealed, while fighting about what God had *not* revealed. The Ethiopian eunuch believed that Jesus was the Son of God, when Philip began at the 53rd of Isaiah, and expounded to him who "the man of sorrows" was, that bore our griefs and carried our sorrows, who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, by whose "stripes we are healed;" and "declared† to him the good news of Jesus." Philip could not do this without declaring His birth by the virgin, in consequence of which He was "called the Son of God." But, if instead of allowing Philip to go on and show how this Son of God lived, and died, and rose, and commanded the apostles to go unto all nations to proclaim the good news, that all, who believed *these facts*, might be baptized and saved, the eunuch had stopped him at first, and demanded *how* the union between the Son of God and the Son of Mary was brought about; and had Philip, instead of simply keeping to his facts, gone into the perplexities and contradictions of the Bishops at Ephesus and Chalcedon, the message would have been marred, and the Ethiopian would never "have gone on his way rejoicing;" Candace would never have heard of death destroyed in the tomb of Joseph;

* See Note, p. 138.

† ευαγ.

Ethiopia would not have begun to stretch out her hands to God.

As Philip preached the good news to the Ethiopian, the apostles preached it to the nations. They were witnesses of what they had *seen*, and *heard*, and *known*. "Ye are witnesses of these things," said Christ, before He ascended. If instead of keeping to their facts, they had begun to quarrel with, and curse, one another, like their pretended successors, as to *how* the Father, Son, and Spirit were equal and unequal, what a *person* was, how the Second Person united himself to the Son of Mary, and yet made but one person, would the nations ever have heard the story of the manger, the miracles, the cross, the sepulchre, the resurrection, the ascension, the Pentecostal outpouring? And yet it was by hearing these FACTS and believing them, and proving their faith by dying, like the apostles, for their testimony, that they were saved, and became the means of saving the thousands who, everywhere, believed.

Paul had often before delivered his testimony to the Corinthians; but on writing to them his longer letter he does not think it superfluous to deliver it once more (1 Cor. xv. 1—11): "Now I declare to you, brethren, the good news which I announced to you, which also you accepted, in which you also are standing, through which you are also being saved, if ye, in whatever discourse I announced it to you, are holding it fast, unless indeed ye believed in vain. For I delivered to you, among the first things, that which I also accepted, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried; and that He hath been raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen by Cephas, then by the twelve: after that, He was seen by five hundred brethren at once; of whom most are re-

maining until now; but some, also, fell asleep. After that, He was seen by James; after that, by all the apostles: and last of all, as by the untimely birth, He was seen also by me. For *I* am the least of the apostles, who am not fit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God. By the grace of God, however, I am what I am; and his grace which was shown toward me did not become void: nay, more abundantly than they all did I toil—not I, however, but the grace of God which was with me. Whether then I, or they, so do we proclaim,* and so did you believe."

There is the apostolic proclamation! There! the testimony of all the apostles. "We are witnesses of these things"! "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; He was buried; He hath been raised, the third day, according to the Scriptures." He died for us! He lives for us! Some of the weaker brethren among the Corinthians, if they were not "believers in vain," might say to themselves when this part of the letter was read: "Why, that is still the old thing! Paul has told us that a hundred times! All the time he was here it was nothing but Christ crucified; and now he goes over every fact about those who saw Christ after He rose, as if he were giving his testimony before Festus or Felix; as if *we* did not know all that." But the stronger brethren felt their hearts begin to burn when they heard once more from their apostle that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; that He was buried; that He hath been raised, the third, day according to the Scriptures." *Old things indeed!* No! they will never grow old. "Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood," shall be the *new* song for ever; and we shall sing it when we grow young again—and strong as

* κηρμσσω.

an* eagle, on resurrection morn; and we shall love it the better the longer we sing it, and that shall be for eternity.

Paul then was a matter-of-fact man; and he tells us all the apostles were the same. But those who called themselves their successors were not. When they assembled at Nicæa, it was not to declare the good news which Christ sent forth his apostles to proclaim: that He died for our sins; that He was buried; and that He rose again the third day; and "*all according to the Scriptures.*" No! They did not speak like the apostles. They did not "hold fast" the words of the apostles. They went to Plato and Aristotle for words which the apostles knew not, or, if they knew them, would not use. Did Athanasius know better than Paul how to speak of God and Christ? Although, therefore, they proclaimed the death, burial, resurrection, ascension, and coming of Christ, these did not stand in the *front*† of their testimony. They were all secondary to something the apostles never mentioned. They spoke "aside‡ from" from the apostles, which Paul‖ and Peter§ expressly forbade, and so "made divisions" that have never been healed, and "stumbling-blocks," over which the nations have fallen.

Of all the virtues which make up Christian morality, the most comprehensive, the most essential, the most beautiful, is love. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels," cries our fervid apostle, "but have not love,

* Not "eagle's" as in the common version. The Prayer-book is here correct. James' revisers followed the LXX. and Vulgate, and were misled. Here they stumble into false natural history, and bad criticism. Why should the Anglican Church give us two inconsistent versions of the Psalms?

† "ἐν πρώτοις" 1 Cor. xv. 3,

‡ παρα.

‖ Rom. xvi. 17.

§ 1 Peter iv. 11.

I am become* sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal" (1 Cor. xiii. 1). All his letters breathe love more than anything else, showing in this the spirit of Him who said: "A new commandment I give you, that ye love one another." "By this shall all men come to know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "God is love;" cries the not less fervid John, "and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." "If any one say, I love God, and hate his brother, he is a liar." "Every one that hateth his brother is a murderer; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." Did the cursing bishops ever read these texts? If we test the creeds of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, as Christ and his apostles test men, they can hardly be reckoned Christian creeds, for they have been followed by nothing but persecution, wars, and murders in the name of the Trinity, in every country under heaven, where they have been established, and enforced, by kings and bishops. When the Arian Goths and Vandals came in the fifth and sixth centuries to punish the Catholics of the Roman empire, their morals were not inferior to those of the boasters in Nicene orthodoxy. On the contrary, a Catholic presbyter of Marseilles† upbraids, in the severest language, the disgraceful inferiority of the Catholics to their Arian conquerors in practical morality. Both, however, were bad. Gross ignorance, and the basest superstition on the part of the people, throughout East and West, and the ever increasing ambition and avarice of the clergy, form the staple of these dreary annals.

* Not, *as*, : such ignorant tampering with the figures of the Bible kil's them. I am sorry Alford misses this; S. Green hits it. How would it do to translate: "This is my body," this is *as* my body? "I am the door," I am *as* the door?

† Gildas Salvian.

When Bishop Ellicot agreed with his brethren to vote for the Roman endowment, he gave as a reason, that Rome held by the first four Councils, "Qui s'excuse s'accuse;" if the Bishop's vote needed an apology, he made a very poor one. These four Councils, as we have seen, were huge conspiracies between the "Kings of the earth," and the Apostate Church, for the shedding of blood. There was not one of them that was not immediately followed by banishments and death.

Besides, the Anglicans will find it difficult to explain why they endorse the first four Œcumenical Councils, and withhold their patronage from the fifth. That was called by the orthodox Justinian, to confirm the decrees of Chalcedon, respecting the two natures. Why must the work of the obscure Marcion be magnified, and that of the famous Justinian, that "most Christian emperor," be ignored?

And if consistency compels the admission of Justinian's Council, where shall we stop? We find ourselves on an inclined plane, descending, in spite of ourselves, to the fourth Council of the Lateran, with the fierce Innocent III. at its head, ordering the extermination of the Albigenses, the establishment of the Inquisition, and a continuation of the Crusades, which, for two centuries, filled Europe and Asia with ruin and slaughter. We shall find ourselves at last in the Council of Constance, consigning John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake, on the plea that promises and oaths were of no force, when heretics were to be destroyed.

If then it is impossible to find one Œcumenical Council, in all those that have met during fifteen centuries, whose consequences have not been mischievous just in proportion to the power which enforced its decrees, it is very interesting to ascertain, if possible, what may

be the results of that one now sitting in the Vatican. There is, indeed, this notable peculiarity in the present case: The Pope cannot now count on one emperor or king sending forth his armies to carry out the Papal decisions. It is hard to conceive what Pius IX. expects to gain by his movement.

Should the Council affirm the infallibility of the Pope, it thereby condemns itself as well as its master, as heretical; because it will contradict those councils and popes who have condemned Pope Honorius I. If infallibility belong to the Pope, as such, then all the predecessors of Pius must have been as infallible as himself; how then was Honorius condemned as a heretic by an Œcumenical Council, as well as by several popes, who affirmed the sentence? Such a dogma would therefore infallibly convict this Council, as well as its pope of heresy. If they recoil from the precipice which Stossmeyer, Dupanloup, and Gratry are pointing out, and refuse what the Pope demands, they inevitably convict him of ignorance. He will stand in history as the Pope who summoned seven hundred bishops from all lands, to "build a tower whose top should reach unto Heaven, and behold, their speech is confounded, and God scatters them again over all the face of the earth."

CHAPTER V.

At the close of the fifth century, Clovis, prince of a tribe of the Franks, became an orthodox king. He was the only one, at that time, in the whole world. While yet a Pagan he had married Clotilda, niece of Gundebald, the Arian king of the Burgundians. Gundebald was the eldest of four brothers. Chilperic, the one next himself, he murdered, as well as Chilperic's wife and her two sons. The daughter, Clotilda, though she happened to be a Catholic, was spared. Godemar, the third brother, was also murdered. When the murderer showed some signs of remorse, Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, tried to turn the Arian into a Catholic, by assuring him that what had happened was all for the best. God saw, that so many princes were not needed for the government of the kingdom. Behold Bishop Avitus' gospel! However, the heretic was obstinate, and would not become a Homoousian, and no wonder. He must have been ignorant, indeed, not to see how unlike Avitus was to the apostles, who called all men to *repentance*. Their pretended successor presented a deadly opiate, the operation of which was to "hide repentance from his eyes." (Hos. xiii. 14.).

The niece, Clotilda, was a zealous Catholic, and used all her influence to draw her husband, Clovis, from the

idolatry of Paganism to the idolatry of Rome, and at last succeeded; but his morals were not improved by the change. The crafty Avitus, who had tried, in vain, to turn the remorse of Gundebald to his Catholic purposes, now addressed a letter to Clovis, stimulating him to use his sword in extending the triumphs of Catholicity. After extirpating Arianism in the West, and putting down the Arian Theodoric in Italy, he might make the Eastern emperor tremble on his throne. Clovis was a willing pupil. The king understood the bishop. He began his operations against his uncle Gundebald, by tampering with Godesil, the youngest and only remaining brother, to draw him from his allegiance, and succeeded.

Avitus, and the orthodox bishops, now challenged the Arians to meet them in debate; and after the usual wranglings on the metaphysics of the Trinity, Gundebald cut the matter short, by asking Avitus why he did not stop Clovis from coveting his kingdom, and caballing with his enemies? What was faith in the Trinity worth with such works as these? The mischief-making priest, however, was not without his answer. He meekly replied, he could not pretend to judge of the motives of Clovis; but this he knew: when a king set himself against God, enemies would rise on all sides. In the battle that followed the conference, Godesil went over from his brother to Clovis, and gave the victory to the Frank. Gundebald was compelled not only to pay tribute to Clovis, but to promise indemnity to his brother —a promise which was not kept, as the king seized the first opportunity of killing the traitor. And all that King Clovis, and Bishop Avitus, might get power and riches, in the name of the Trinity!

And now Clovis turned his eyes to the south, and told his Franks: "I am grieved much to see these

Arians in possession of the best part of Gaul. Let us go, and with God's help, conquer them, and take their land." They were of course well pleased, and as Clovis knew well, that all the orthodox bishops were his powerful partisans, and were scattered all over the country, he had no reason to doubt that his own valour, combined with their intrigues, would again give him the victory. Accordingly, the kingdom of the Visigoths was laid waste, and added to the infant monarchy of France. Before starting on his expedition he went to the shrine of St. Martin of Tours to pay his devotion, and, as he entered the church he heard the priests chanting, "Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; Thou hast subdued unto me those that rise up against me; Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me" (Ps. xviii. 39). How could he doubt, after such a coincidence, that he was marching, like David, to a divine victory?

Under the inspiration of his bishops, and the promptings of his own ruthless ambition, the character of the orthodox Clovis did not improve. We find him tempting the son of Sigebert, king of the Ripuarian Franks, to murder his father, by a promise to acknowledge him as king; and when the wretched creature had taken the bait, and committed the parricide, his tempter turned upon him and murdered him, in return, for yielding to his Satanic suggestion. Clovis finished up the business by swearing in the presence of the Ripuarian nation, that he had had no hand in the death of either Sigebert or his son. His impudent denial was received with acclamations, and he was immediately raised on the shields of the Franks, and declared king of the Ripuarians.

Bishop Gregory of Tours, who records the transaction, winds up his narrative with the reflection: "For God

thus daily prostrated his enemies under his hand, and extended his kingdom, because he walked before Him with a heart entirely upright, and did the things which were pleasing in his eyes."* "Yet," observes Dean Milman, "Gregory of Tours was a prelate, himself of gentle and blameless manners, and of profound piety." *Piety! Profound* piety, indeed! I know not what notion the late Dean of St. Paul's had of *profound* piety; but I will say it, if ever the Devil became incarnate among men, it must have been in the person of the founder of the French monarchy. And the miserable priest, who admired him as a man altogether after God's own heart, only showed that he had "a conscience seared with a brand." And when he filled his history with barefaced lies, under the name of miracles, he proved, if he was not "speaking lies in hypocrisy," that his eyes had been put out by superstition. In either case there was not a particle of piety: it was merely wicked stupidity, or diabolical hypocrisy.

Gibbon (v. iii. 566, 4to ed.), speaking of Clovis, says: "His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties; his hands were stained with blood in peace as well as in war; and as soon as Clovis had dismissed a synod of the Gallican Church, he calmly assassinated *all* the princes of the Merovingian race."

Milman's "*profoundly pious*" Bishop Gregory expresses nothing but admiration of Clovis; and when the monster was cut off in the midst of his enormities, his simple remark is: "These things having been thus managed, he died." Did the bishops, when they heard of the assassination after Clovis had sent them out of the way, say one word against their champion? Had they no idea beforehand of what was about to happen? One thing is

* Greg. Turon., ii. 42.

certain: so high is the character of Clovis in the annals of Catholic France, that Hinemar, Archbishop of Rheims, in the ninth century, declared that when his predecessor, St. Remigius, baptized Clovis in the cathedral of Rheims, a white dove brought a vial of heavenly oil for his anointing; and the vial was kept, and the oil, renewed, for all the succeeding kings of France. Did they not all "delight in lies," whether the priests who invented them, or the people who believed them?

"It is difficult," says Dean Milman (Lat. Ch., v. i. 286) "to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France, under the Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism has introduced into Christianity all its ferocity with none of its generosity or magnanimity; its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty, and even of sensuality. Christianity has given to barbarism hardly more than its superstition, and its hatred of heretics and unbelievers." This is just saying that the *Roman* Christianity of the fifth century was worse than Paganism itself; but I object to calling it "Christianity" *simply*. It was *Roman* Christianity. It is equally inaccurate and dangerous to speak of "*Christianity*" giving its superstition "to barbarism." Christianity has no superstition. The author still means *Roman* Christianity. Neither does Christianity ever hate "heretics and unbelievers." Those who have received it in its power and purity, have always lived and died to save unbelievers of all kinds. He is still speaking of *Roman* Christianity, which has always burned heretics, when it had the power.

The Dean goes on to say (loc. cit.), "Assassinations, parricides, and fratricides, intermingle with adulteries and

rapes. . . . That King Clotaire should burn alive his rebellious son, with his wife and daughter, is fearful enough; but we were astounded, even in these times, with a bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he coveted. Fredegonde sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clerks, (priests.) She causes the Archbishop of Rheims to be murdered while he is chanting the service in the church; and, in this crime, a bishop and an archdeacon are her accomplices. She is not content with open violence: she administers poison with the subtlety of a Locusta, or a modern Italian, apparently with no sensual design, but from sheer barbarity." Fredegonde, however, must have been a *Roman* Christian, as "a bishop and an archdeacon" were her accomplices. And was not the prediction of Christ and his apostles, about the false prophets and the wolves, awfully fulfilled? Was not the apostasy complete?

Theodoric, the Arian, was sovereign in Italy at the time that the Catholic Clovis was busy in France; and the justice, moderation, and beneficence of the heretic, formed a striking contrast with the wild ambition, the infernal cunning, and the savage cruelty of the Catholic. It was hardly possible that Theodoric should think well of a creed, which had a Clovis for its champion, and an Avitus for its high priest—men, who while they pretended to honour Christ as supreme God, were continually engaged in practices which Jesus lived only to denounce, and died for ever to abolish. Theodoric knew well that Christ had declared, "By this shall all men come to know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." How could the beneficent monarch fancy that such men were disciples of Christ, whom he beheld covered all over with blood, and whom even a decent

Pagan must detest. And when he heard of the assassination of the Merovingian princes, which followed immediately on the dismissal of Clovis' bishops, well might he exclaim: "Clovis and Avitus are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations: O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their *assembly*, mine honour, be not thou united."

The Catholics of Italy were too like their brethren in Gaul. As the power of the Papacy increased, with the increasing ignorance and superstition of Christendom, the prize of the Roman throne became more tempting to the papal candidates. Fierce and bloody contests became the rule in all the elections. At the close of the fifth century, Symmachus and Laurentius were chosen on the same day (Dec. 22) by rival factions, in separate churches, and so furious was the strife that senators, priests, and people, mingled in the fray, and the streets of Rome ran blood, as in the old feuds between patrician and plebeian. When both parties were tired and bleeding from the battle, they at last thought of appealing to Theodoric; and each, equally sure of the justice of its cause, came to the footstool of the throne, and demanded judgment in its own favour.

Had Theodoric become the patron of either faction, he would have shown himself as foolish as themselves, and utterly unfit for his high and critical position. He told them, "The candidate who had had most votes, and who had been first chosen, was best entitled to the chair." The upshot was, that Symmachus was chosen. Of course, the Laurentians were anything but satisfied, and set themselves to watch for flaws, or even crimes, in the administration and morals of Symmachus. After four or five years' waiting, they came out with charges of embezzling Church property, and adultery. Theodoric

committed the Pope to prison in Rimini, till the matter could be inquired into; but he contrived to escape to Rome, where he found his old enemy already on the ground, prepared once more to fight for the bright prize. The battle was more furious than before. Priests were killed, monasteries burnt, and nuns violated.

Again the orthodox Catholics appeal to the heretic Theodoric. He orders a royal commission, headed by Peter, Bishop of Altino. They seize some of the alienated property, and torture the Pope's slaves to find out how he conducted himself in his family, in regard to the seventh commandment. This proves two things: that the Bishop of Rome, and probably other bishops, had slaves, and that slaves were liable to be tortured. Alas for the slaves of Symmachus! whether their master was a violator of the seventh commandment or not, they, poor innocents, must bleed and groan as if *they* were guilty. It is an old saying: "The kings go mad, and the Greeks are smitten."* The bishops go mad with ambition and avarice, and their slaves must be tortured.

To make the absurdity still more monstrous, we cannot learn that the commission made any use of the servile evidence, after they had extorted it by the rack. A dead silence is kept as to the chastity of Symmachus, just as the Council of Antioch kept on the morals of Paul of Samosata, three hundred years before, and as we saw the Council of Chalcedon doing in regard to the adulteries and murders of the patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria; but however useless the commission of Bishop Peter, Theodoric still refused to settle the matter at his own hand. He summoned a synod of bishops to meet at Rome to share the responsibility among them-

* Reges delirant, plectuntur Achivi.

selves. But they felt the responsibility too heavy. Were they to presume to judge a pope? They were not an Œcumenical Council: they were merely a national synod, assembling at the call of an Arian heretic.

In the midst of their perplexity, Clovis' friend, Bishop Avitus of Vienne, sends a letter to the Roman senate, in which he ably directs them in Church politics: "An ordinary priest, if by chance he have tripped, may be called to order; but if the Pope of the city is brought into question, not a bishop merely, but episcopacy will seem to totter! . . . Nor should you show less regard to the throne of Peter in our Church, than, in the State, to the highest point of the world." The synod did not escape handsomely from their dilemma. They decided that Symmachus could not be pronounced guilty before men; secret things must be left to God; and the hands of the accused might dispense the body and blood of Christ in all churches of his diocese. "A lame and impotent conclusion!" If Symmachus was innocent, he did not need their licence. Dean Milman is puzzled with the inconsistency. Still he thinks the synod must have had "full and conclusive evidence of his guiltlessness." But if so, the bishops must have been worse than I believe them to have been.

"The wise impartiality of Theodoric's government," says Milman, "extorts the praise of the most zealous Catholic." Still the Catholics were not satisfied with impartial equality, with public peace and prosperity. They grudged that a heretic should shine in the palaces of the Cæsars, just as Episcopalian and Presbyterian agreed for once in their indignation, when they saw Cromwell, the detested sectary, in Whitehall. No matter that the free gospel of God was preached as it never had been preached in England; no matter that

Scotland prospered, temporally, and spiritually, as she never had prospered before; no matter that even Ireland was quiet, and beginning to prosper at last—all was tainted by the touch of the sectarian Protector, and all had to be changed for the worse.

Theodoric, like Cromwell, was a protector of the Jews. Catholic Rome has always been, and is still, conspicuous for her enmity to the children of Abraham. The synagogues were burnt in Rome and in other cities, and the worshippers plundered. Theodoric ordered the mischief to be repaired at public expense. About the same time, the throne of Constantinople had been seized by a military adventurer, of the name of Justin. He delighted the mob of the metropolis, by crying up, in concert, the Council of Chalcedon, and, by way of carrying out his faith in the two-fold nature of Christ, he shut up all the churches of the Arians. The Catholic bishops in Gaul, at the Council of Epaoma, did the same. Theodoric saw too well that his thirty years of magnanimous bounty to the Catholics, had not softened their bigotry, nor taught them the first principle of Christ's law "to do to others as they would have others do unto them." This great law was now proclaimed by Theodoric in a letter to Justin: "To pretend to a dominion over the conscience, is to usurp the prerogative of God; by the nature of things, the power of sovereigns is confined to political government; they have no right of punishment, but over those who disturb the public peace; the most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign, who separates himself from part of his subjects, because they believe not according to his belief." "Golden words," says Dean Milman, "but mistimed above twelve hundred years." Alas! They were still too early over a thousand years after Theodoric, when Cromwell tried in vain to charm English-

men with the angel song of "Peace on earth, good will to men."*

When Constantine, forgetting what he had at first insisted on, that the difference between Arius and his archbishop was a trifle, took sides with the Homoousians, he at once separated himself from the other party, and began to persecute them. In three years, as we saw, he chose to side with the Arians and to persecute the orthodox. Now according to Theodoric's "golden words," he was a heretic in both cases, because whether he patronized the one side or the other, he necessarily separated himself from one. That separation, Theodoric denounced as heresy, because it was degrading himself into becoming the mere head of a party. This is the very essence of what Paul means by *heretic*, and it is demonstrable that every State church is in its very nature heretical, because it is only by heading a party, no matter whether large or small, that the sovereign can establish his own faith. Dean Milman then seems hardly to have comprehended Theodoric's "golden words." While there is a State church in the world, his words are set at nought.

* I adhere to the ordinary text. The most authoritative version in the world, the Syriac (Peschito) corroborates it. That version is much older than the oldest of our manuscripts, the Vatican,† which is not believed to be earlier than the middle of the fourth century; whereas, the Syriac belongs to the second, if not to the close of the first. Now, when we reflect that by the beginning of the fourth century, the apostasy was growing strong, it is not at all improbable that the glorious humanity of the angel song was distasteful to the bigots, who fancied that no men were entitled to good will, but their own partisans, *i.e.*, "men of good-will *to themselves*," and that they tampered with the word of the angels—a small matter for those who were trampling down the great word of the Lord of the angels, "Love one another." Probably, that malignant bigot, Jerome, with his "*hominibus bonæ voluntatis*," gave the cue to the Greek manuscripts of his own day.

† The Sinaitic is, perhaps, a little older.

It may indeed be alleged, that the Arian Theodoric was a dangerous heretic by his "golden words," for he separated himself from the majority of his subjects. But it is a false plea; for "Theodoric," when in Rome, "performed his devotions in St. Peter's with the fervour of a Catholic," * and was the impartial protector of Catholic and Arian alike. Just as our magnanimous Protector had Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist chaplains, and dispensed the public ecclesiastical property impartially to all.

However, Theodoric's "golden words" were lost on the ignorant Justin, or rather on his orthodox nephew, Justinian, who was now beginning to play a greatly mischievous part in the affairs of East and West. Theodoric was told that "public order demanded uniformity of worship," and Justin "had full right to command the churches to be open to those alone, who should conform to the religion of the State." The churches of the Arians, therefore, continued closed, and they were piously expelled from all offices under the government. "Uniformity of worship demanded by public order!" No small portion of imperial impertinence was needed to hold such language to Theodoric. Who had maintained public order in Italy except himself? Surely not the rival popes who every few years were making the streets of Rome run blood.

Theodoric was well convinced that the emperor would not confine *his order* to the East, but would make it, if possible, the means, and the pretext, of reducing Italy once more under imperial rule. He knew that it was only by means of the Pope and the Senate that this could be accomplished, and he wisely resolved to send the

* See Milman.

Pope to Constantinople,* to demand the same freedom for the Arians in the East, that was granted to the Catholics in the West. John I. remonstrated against being sent on such a mission, for when did ever Christ's vicar obey Christ's golden rule? But Theodoric was imperative: "What, must I tolerate you and your brethren, and you not speak a word to secure toleration for mine?" The Pope had to go.

Justin received Peter's successor on his knees, as Cornelius received Peter himself; but Peter rejected the homage, which John forgot to do. Ten miles from Constantinople was the Pope met by the emperor with a magnificent train, and all the city at his heels, with tapers and torches in their hands. It would have been strange had John not been carried away with such honours. His message of Christian equity failed. The ambassador could not, in his heart, wish it to succeed. His treason came to light, but Theodoric had taken care it should show itself hundreds of miles away from the vitals of his kingdom, where it could not have the Roman senate to combine with.

While the Pope was yielding to the blandishments of the emperor, the Roman senate would appear to have entered on an intrigue to overthrow the government of Theodoric. Bœthius and Symmachus, were the leading members of the senate in wealth and influence; and their names were found at an invitation to the emperor to invade Italy. They denied the charge, alleging that their names had been forged. What is certain is, that Theodoric put them both to death; and it seems reasonable to believe he acted justly, from the high character he had maintained during a reign of over

* Milman is much puzzled with this stroke of Theodoric, and ascribes it in one place to *pride*.

thirty years, for justice, moderation, and beneficence. His accusers are Catholics. We have no rebutting testimony, and, unfortunately, we have but too ample demonstration of Catholic unscrupulosity, where the interests of what they call the Church are involved.

When Bœthius was interrogated by his sovereign as to the existence of the conspiracy, he haughtily replied: "Had *I* known it, *you* should not." He seemed to fancy he had a right to do as he pleased in the matter. He forgot that Theodoric had not conquered Italy without the emperor's sanction, that his government had been acknowledged by Bœthius and the senate, as well as the emperor, for over thirty years, and had been the means of unexampled blessings to Italy, and especially to Bœthius himself. Why, then, was Theodoric to be undermined by traitors, without having the right of calling them to account?

Bœthius was an accomplished philosopher as well as an orthodox Churchman. He had written on the Trinity, and is said to have steered his way through the narrow strait that divides Nestorianism from Eutychianism. This, however, is no proof that he was a Christian. He wrote his famous work, "The Consolation of Philosophy," when in prison before his execution. He might have written it all had the Son of God and Mary never lived, nor died, nor risen, nor reigned. This is not the way Christians write in prospect of death. "The good fight I have fought, the race I have finished, the faith I have kept; henceforth there is laid away for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give away to me in that day; but not only to me—nay, to all those also who have loved his appearing." Behold the ambition of an apostle. He longs for his crown, but it is not to wear it alone. He exults

as much in the glory of his brethren as his own. All "who have loved HIS appearing!" Contrast with this sacred ambition of the apostle, the Satanic ambition of the wicked impostors who pretended to come in his place, and who proved their title by bloody slaughters in the streets of Rome!

As soon as Pope John returned from his embassy, Theodoric threw him into prison, where he died. The king found, by sad experience, that his noble moderation, in not interfering in Papal elections, was thrown away. No sooner was the Papal throne vacant by the death of John, than the old battles began about the succession. Theodoric settled the matter by appointing Felix, and, though the clergy, and their turbulent parishioners, fretted, he insisted on his choice, and decreed that there should be no election without his sanction. Both senate and clergy now felt they must be quiet.

One month after Felix's accession, his noble patron was removed from his subjects, whom he had blessed (so far as such subjects could be blessed) for over thirty-three years, and who had made such a poor return. The Catholics talk of the horrors in which he died; but this is a trick of theirs. Luther, Calvin, Knox, they say, were all frantic at last. The Anglicans have imitated the Romans in this, as in too many other things.

CHAPTER VI.

About ten years after the death of the noble Theodoric, Italy was invaded by Belisarius, the famous general of Justinian, and Rome sunk into a dependency on Constantinople. The popes were now the mere creatures of Justinian, or rather of Theodora, whom he had raised from prostitution, to be more than the partner of his throne. This infamous female, from whose bosom the fiend of a remorseless and savage ambition, had driven that of undiscriminating and unbridled lust, was now selling to the highest bidder not only the chair of Peter, but was controlling all the sees of Christendom. The Catholics of Italy who had plotted against the mild and equitable government of the Arian Theodoric, now tasted the bitterness of a foreign, if Catholic, despotism; just as the orthodox sectarian Presbyterians who fretted under the moderation and wisdom of their Cromwell, found out too late what they had lost, when subjected to the tender mercies of Clarendon and the bishops, of Charles II. and the Duchess of Richmond.

"Rome, now a city of the Eastern Empire, was brought at once within the sphere of the female intrigues of Constantinople; one pope, Silverius, suffered degradation;*

* Milman might have added to "degradation," banishment, and sudden death—if not assassination at the hands of his rival Vigilius—"the most doubtful character who had yet sat on the throne of St. Peter"—a very bold assertion!

another, the most doubtful character who had yet sat on the throne of St. Peter, received his appointment through the arts of the infamous Theodora, and suffered the judicial punishment of his crimes—persecution, shame, remorse" (Milman's Lat. Chris., v. i. 337).

This exemplary imperial pair, while agreeing on all other matters, thought proper to take opposite sides on the all-engrossing controversy about the natures of Christ. Justinian held with the Council of Chalcedon; but Theodora leaned to the one nature after the incarnation, as defined by the Robbers of Ephesus, and their pure president Dioscorus of Alexandria, who, as he pretended, beat St. Flavian to death for "dividing the natures." The populace of Constantinople took sides like their rulers—the majority, called the *Blues*, agreeing with Justinian; the *Greens*, holding with Theodora and Dioscorus. These names arose from the two colors worn by the charioteers in the circus. Not merely the city, but the empire, was torn by these furious factions. Justice was paralysed; crime was triumphant; the orthodox *Blues* gained every lawsuit. Assassination was unpunished, if it took off a *Green*. At last anarchy reached a climax. Justinian took refuge in his palace, and, in despair, was ready to abandon his capital. The firmness of Theodora saved the coward, when she exclaimed, "A palace is a glorious sepulchre;" and the prompt resolution of Belisarius arrested the ruin by the slaughter of thirty thousand of the rioters.

Such scenes were not limited to Constantinople. Similar atrocities were staining the patriarchal thrones of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Rome—indeed, wherever the episcopal prize was tempting enough to fire the ambition of the bishops. Yet these *Blues* and *Greens*, who were convulsing the world with their mad conten-

tions, are dignified, by history, with the name of Christians. We are assured: "With the world Christianity began rapidly to barbarise;"* but I insist, whenever any system either becomes barbarous, or makes its advocates barbarous, it is not Christianity, but an infernal counterfeit. Had the historian called the system which led to such atrocities, Nicæan, Constantinopolitan, Chalcedonian, or Roman Christianity, he would have spoken truth.

But it might have been well, had that ingenious, elegant scholar asked himself, *how* "the world" "with Christianity began rapidly to barbarise." Were not bishops the teachers of Christianity? Had they not the world in their hands to do what they pleased with it? Why did both the world and Christianity become barbarous under their hands? Montesquieu in his admirable sketch on "The Grandeur and Decline of the Romans," touches the cause in these words, equally witty and wise:† "When I think on the profound ignorance into which the Greek clergy plunged the laity, I cannot help comparing it to the Scythians, of whom Herodotus speaks, who dug out the eyes of their slaves, in order that nothing might distract, or hinder, them in churning the butter."

But Montesquieu only *touches* the cause. He merely mentions the *Greek* clergy; it might not have been safe to proclaim the greater truth about the clergy of Rome, those systematic blinders of the nations, for over twelve centuries. In Spain, Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Mexico, and all South America, the millions are sunk in darkness; and, wherever Protestant interference threatens to open the eyes of the poor slaves, the priest is ready with his curse, unless he is allowed to regulate the operation, so that his power shall not be endangered. The facts were the same in France, before that terrible earthquake—the

* Milman's Lat. Chris., v. 289.

† Grandeur, etc., p. 201.

great Revolution—which drove the priests from the land, or hung them at the lamps in the street.

In his vast empire of blinded slaves, the imperial slave of Theodora aspired to the glory, of being supreme dictator in law and religion. He commissioned the lawyer Tribonian, and his subordinates, to systematise the chaos of Roman jurisprudence. He guided, or drove, popes and bishops in the narrow, dangerous, path between Eutychianism and Nestorianism, with his own masterly and mighty hand. He sat as critic on the writings of Theodoret, and his two brethren, Theodorus and Ibas, and condemned them in a fifth Council. The profligate Vigilius, whom Theodora had intrigued into the throne of St. Peter, was summoned to Constantinople, and three times yielded to the tyrant by condemning the three bishops, and as often recanted from fear of the indignation of the West. After imprisonment, and hundreds of humiliations and agonies worse than death, the unhappy Pope pretended to have, at last, seen through those subtle errors, which had so long puzzled and misled his infallible judgment. He was now allowed to return to Rome, but he never reached it. All his weary shifts to keep his footing, only landed him in a dishonoured grave—a memorable prototype of our unhappy Cranmer.

To Justinian apparently belongs the infamy, of having anticipated Innocent III. in the establishment of an INQUISITION. Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, informs us (c. xx., Hist. Secret.): "Justinian established also two other judges, that he might be able the more easily to oppress the innocent by the aid of informers. He assigned to one the censure of theft, and he called him prætor of the people; and to the other, the search for those who were guilty of crimes against nature, and of those who were guilty of HERESY, and he called him IN-

QUISITOR. The inquisitor, on condemning the accused, confiscated to the profit of the emperor, whatever portion of their property he thought proper. The officers of the judges of whom I speak, produced neither accusers nor witnesses against the accused; so that these unhappy men were deprived of their property, and sometimes of their lives, without having been convicted."

We have a proof of the accuracy of this statement of Procopius, in the lxxx. Novella of Justinian, where he declares: "We give then to this magistracy, and to him who exercises its functions, the name of INQUISITOR."

It may seem hard to understand, why offences so unlike as unnatural crimes and heresy, should be consigned to the censure of a special judge. Possibly, the imperial pair pleased each other in erecting such a tribunal. The one crime struck at the natural influence of the female sex, and may thus have fallen under Theodora's special odium; while heresy was of course the abhorrence of Justinian, as it denied the infallibility of his imperial theology. Besides, he may have intended to extend to heresy, the horror naturally felt for its loathsome companion.

Whatever may have been the motive for this singular arrangement, there can be no doubt that this double judicature for theft, heresy, etc., yielded a rich harvest of confiscations to the avarice of Justinian and his wife; while it furnished them with a ready weapon, for wreaking their vengeance on those, who were so unfortunate as to provoke their malignity, and so innocent as to be beyond the reach of the ordinary courts.

The vagueness of the crime of heresy, made it a convenient weapon to destroy anyone, who fell under the displeasure of the imperial court. Heretics are defined as those "who are detected in deviating in the smallest *

* Vel levi argumento.

from the judgment and track of the Catholic religion." * But where is that track to be traced? Where may that judgment be surely discerned? In the confused contradictions of the Fathers? In the endless futile distinctions of the canons of Popes and Councils? Practically, the judge decided just as he felt inclined. Holy Church says so; and the poor defendant had nothing to reply. He had to surrender his estate, go into exile, or to execution.

As for the other crime, it was emphatically a work of darkness;† and one witness, one child, or one slave, was sufficient to prove it. The malice of Theodora might seem to have prompted the horrible mutilations, in which the condemned breathed out his wretched existence. Two bishops, Isaiah of Rhodes, and Alexander of Diospolis, were dragged through the streets of Constantinople, bleeding and dying in agony. Gibbon justly adds: "*Perhaps these prelates were innocent.*" Such were the tender mercies to which, in the righteous judgment of God, the bishops who had misled the world, and the world which was but too willing to be misled, were given up, for their crimes against the good news of God's free love in Christ.

The Institutes, the Code, and the Pandects of Justinian, which have perpetuated his name, can hardly be regarded as monuments to his honour. A competent judge tells us‡ that "the laws of this emperor, show a greater variation of jurisprudence, in the course of some years, than have happened in the three last centuries of our monarchy."

"These variations are, for the most part, on matters of such small importance, that we can see no reason which

* A judicio Catholicæ Religionis et tramite.

† Montesquieu L'Esprit des Lois (L. xii., c. 6.)

‡ Ditto, Gran. et Dec., p. 185.

could have prompted the legislator to make them, unless we explain it by the Secret History, and say that this prince sold equally his decisions and his laws.

"But what was most mischievous in his (Justinian's) policy, was the project which he conceived of reducing all men to the same opinion in matters of religion, in circumstances which rendered his zeal entirely indiscreet."

Montesquieu then shows that the East was split up into jarring sects, which it was impossible to extirpate without undermining the empire. By exterminating the Samaritans, the foolish emperor opened the door, by which the Saracens by and bye entered, and subverted that spurious Christianity, a blind zeal for which had led to that very extermination.

It is thus that the madness of rulers repeats itself from age to age. In the beginning of the previous century, Honorius, under the prompting of the bishops, made the bloody code of his father Theodosius still more bloody against the Donatists. Augustine, as we saw, pressed the enforcement of these horrible edicts, though he saw his poor brethren burning themselves in despair. When, in God's righteous judgments, Genseric the Arian came to scourge the Catholics, and to make Augustine drink of his own cup, the Donatists, who had lived through the fiery persecution, were his most effective allies.

Montesquieu qualifies his censure of the exterminating zeal of Justinian, by alleging that "circumstances rendered his zeal entirely indiscreet." No circumstances whatever can ever make zeal in destroying men, under pretence of saving souls, anything but diabolical cruelty. But the priests, among whom Montesquieu lived, had not yet been driven out of France, or hung at the street-lamps

by the mad ferocity of the Jacobins, and would have denounced him, had he dared, without any qualification, to condemn *all* persecution. Besides, who that knows anything, to purpose, about either men or religion, would ever dream of compelling all to think alike. They may do so, but not till the Millennium sets in; and even then, identity of thought on a subject so boundless as religious knowledge, is not to be expected; unless all are to be of the same intellectual stature, which there seems no reason to anticipate.

It is undeniable, then, if Montesquieu's criticism is just, that Justinian was worse than a bungler both in religion and law. In the former he anticipated Innocent III. by establishing an inquisition, and in the latter he multiplied bribery and litigation, under pretence of giving certainty and precision to the decisions of his judges. The edicts of emperors, Pagan and Christian, modified, restricted, confounded, by the decisions of the courts, were systematized in the twelve volumes of the Code, and the fifty of the Pandects. But no sooner was the jungle cleared, than it began at once to grow again in the Novellæ, which the corruption of the emperor, and his lawyer Tribonian, was continually sending forth.

This multiplying of legal volumes, has been an old inveterate curse of nations calling themselves civilized. The more they are multiplied, the darker and more complicated does the law necessarily become; so that lawyers are puzzled often to tell what *is* law. This very uncertainty makes their harvest. No man knows precisely what his legal right may turn out, and his legal adviser, however honest, is often puzzled, and always tempted to foster a plea, which may possibly turn out successful, and, at all events, must increase his own gains.

CHAPTER VII.

ABOUT seventeen years after the death of Justinian—that imperial slave of lawyers, bishops, and an infamous woman, of all whom he fancied himself the master—Maurice was called to the throne of the East. Eight years later (590), Gregory I., usually known as the Great, became Pope. More than any of his predecessors, this man, no less by his talents than by his vices, extended and established the power of the Papacy. So long as the policy of the emperor did not interfere with the policy of the Pope, Gregory was the most devoted flatterer of Maurice. In (Ep. 63, l. v.) he thus magniloquently eulogises his patron: "Amidst the cares of arms and the innumerable anxieties, which, with unwearied zeal, ye* sustain in ruling the Christian Republic, it is to me, with the whole world, a great cause of joy, that your piety is always watching, with special anxiety, over the preservation of the faith, in which the rule of the sovereigns is shining. Whence I am entirely confident that, as you, with the love of a religious mind, are defending the causes of God, so God, with the grace of his majesty, is defending and helping yours."

Amidst all these smooth high-sounding epithets,

* Including the Empress Constantia in his flatteries. Priests never overlook the women.

however, the emperor could hardly fail to perceive, that he could only hope for the blessing of Gregory, so long as he maintained that faith, of which Gregory was the divine expounder; and that, if he at any time should differ with Gregory, about the way in which God's causes were to be defended, he might expect, that Gregory would not be slow in proclaiming him an enemy of God.

Accordingly, three years after Gregory's accession, Maurice issued an edict prohibiting his soldiers from becoming monks. The monk in St. Peter's chair, at once, remonstrates in these memorable words (Ep. 62, l. ii.): "I confess, my sovereigns, that I am struck with terror at this edict, by which heaven is closed against so many; and that, which before was lawful to all, is prohibited to some. Many, indeed, may lead a religious life in a secular habit, but the most of men cannot be saved before God, but by leaving all that they have. What am I who thus address my sovereigns? Dust and a worm! But I cannot be silent before my sovereigns, because this edict is directed against God, the author of all things. Power was given to my sovereigns over all men, to assist the good, to open wide the way to heaven; and that the kingdom of earth might be subservient to the kingdom of heaven. And now, behold, it is proclaimed that no one who is marked as an earthly soldier, unless he has completed his service, or is discharged from infirmity, shall be allowed to be a soldier of Jesus Christ. To this Christ answers, by me, the lowliest of his servants, and of yours: 'From a notary I made you captain of the guards; from captain of the guards, Cæsar; from Cæsar, emperor; and, more than that, the father of emperors. I commended my priests to your care, and you withdrew your soldiers from my service.' Tell thy servant what answer he will make

to the Lord when he comes to judgment. It is supposed, perhaps, that such conversions are not sincere; but I, your unworthy servant, know many converted soldiers who in our days have worked miracles, and done many signs and wonders. And will you prohibit the conversion of such men by law? Inquire what emperor it was who first issued such a statute. Consider seriously, is this the time to prohibit men from leaving the world, when the end of the world is at hand? But a short time, and the earth and the heavens will burn, and among the blazing elements, amid angels and archangels, and thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, the terrible Judge will appear. And what, if all your sins be remitted, and this law rise up against you, will be your excuse? By that terrible Judge, I beseech you, let not so many tears, so many prayers, alms, and fastings, be obscured before the sight of God. Either mitigate, or alter, this law. The armies of my sovereigns will be strengthened against their enemies, in proportion as the armies of God, whose warfare is by prayer, are increased. I, who am subject to your authority, have commanded the law to be transmitted throughout the empire, but I have also avowed to my sovereigns that I esteem it displeasing to God. I have done my duty in both cases; I have obeyed the emperor, and not compromised my reverence for God."

By this last word, Gregory condemns himself. Unless he was a shameless impostor, he had most surely "compromised his reverence for God." In commanding "the law to be transmitted throughout the empire," he was precisely doing that which God, according to him, had forbidden. He was "obeying man rather than God," the very thing that Peter refused to do. How then could *he* be speaking either in God's name or Peter's? He was

most undoubtedly twice self-condemned (αυτοκατακριτος) a heretic by a double title. Paul would have rejected him. Tit. iii. 10, 11.

It is not worth while to expose all the absurdities, the mock humility, the blasphemous arrogance, the serpent-like subtlety, of this *perfect* pope's epistle. But I must add the expression of my surprise, that one so keen-sighted as Dean Milman, should tell us that this monstrous effusion is "the humble remonstrance of the subject, not the bold assertion of spiritual power," when the monk actually puts a speech into the mouth of Jesus Christ Himself, like Cyril and his Ephesian fellows.

Maurice gave still more mortal offence to Gregory, by allowing John the "Faster," the patriarch of Constantinople to assume the title of Universal Bishop. The letter, which St. Gregory addressed to the emperor on the occasion, is so replete with verbal and voluntary humility, and real pride; with the form of piety, and the utter want of the substance; with fulsome flattery, and arrogant implied dictation; that we cannot refrain from quoting it at length:—

"Our most religious Lord, whom God hath placed over us, among other weighty cares belonging to the empire, labours, according to the just rules of the sacred writings, to preserve peace, and charity, and unanimity, among the clergy. He truly and piously considers that no man can well govern temporal matters, unless he manages with propriety things divine also;* and that the peace and tranquillity† of the Commonwealth depend upon the quiet of the universal Church. For, most gracious sovereign, what human power or strength would

* *i.e.*, "You know *you* cannot rightly hold the left hand temporal rein, unless you allow *me* to hold the right hand spiritual rein."

† *i.e.*, "If you will not take my advice, be sure you shall have trouble."

presume to lift up irreligious hands against your most Christian Majesty, if the clergy being at unity among themselves, would seriously pray to our Saviour Christ to preserve you, who have merited so highly from us! Or what nation is there so barbarous as to exercise such cruelty against the faithful, unless the lives of us who are called priests, but in truth are not such,* were most wicked and depraved. But while we leave those things which more immediately concern us, and embrace those things for which we are wholly unfit, we excite the barbarians against us, and our offences sharpen the swords of our enemies, by which means the Commonwealth is weakened. For what can we say for ourselves if the people of God, over whom we are placed, however unworthily, be oppressed through the multitude of our offences? If our example destroys that which our preaching should build, and our actions, as it were, give the lie to our doctrine. Our bones are worn with fasting,† but our minds are puffed up. Our bodies are covered with mean attire, but in our hearts we are quite elated! We lie grovelling in the ashes, yet we aim at things exceedingly high! We are teachers of humility, but patterns of pride, hiding the teeth of wolves under a sheep's countenance.‡ The end of all is to make a fair appearance before men, but God knoweth the truth!

"Therefore our most pious sovereign hath been prudently careful to place the Church at unity,§ that he

* Ah! *calling* ourselves priests when we are *not* priests, is wicked lying. O St. Gregory! No wonder the "priests' lives were most wicked and depraved."

† O John, you are puffed up, for all your fasting!

‡ The Pope speaks truth! They all, Greek priests and Roman, became wolves!

§ What! Had not Maurice set Gregory at variance with John, by setting the one over the other? O St. Gregory! do not flatter and lie!

might the better compose the tumults of war, and join their hearts together. This, verily, is my wish also, and, for my part, I yield the due obedience to your sovereign command. However, since it is not my cause but God's, it is not myself only, but the whole Church that is troubled, because religious laws, venerable synods, and the very precepts of our Lord Jesus, are disobeyed by the invention of a proud and pompous speech. My desire is, that our most religious sovereign would lance this sore, and, that he would bind with the cords of his imperial authority the party affected, in case he makes any resistance."

After showing, in the usual way, that Peter was the prince of the apostles, Gregory cries: "Behold! he hath the keys of the kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing is committed to him. The care and the principality of the whole Church is committed to him; yet he is not called 'universal apostle,' though this holy man, John, my fellow priest, labours to be called 'universal bishop!' I am compelled to cry out, 'O the times! O the manners!'" Gregory is too modest to draw the inference, that the principality of the Church belonged to himself as Peter's sole successor. He can safely leave that to the imperial logic.

After denouncing the title, universal bishop, as "blasphemous," Gregory declares "it was offered to the Bishop of Rome, by the reverend Council of Chalcedon, in honour of St. Peter, prince of the apostles." In writing this, the saint ventured on a lie, as that Council merely decreed, as we formerly stated, the equality of the two sees of Constantinople and Rome, to the intense indignation of St. Leo. He then demands: "Why should WE refuse this title when it was offered, and this man assume it without any offer at all?" He then tries

to work on the jealousy of the emperor; "he seeks to please himself by a name of singularity, by which he would elevate himself above the emperor!" And so on at great length.

The emperor was not convinced, even though Gregory wrote a distinct letter to the empress, to engage her in his cause. He declares that the presumption of John was a sign of the coming Antichrist, and compares it to that of Satan, who aspired to be higher than all the angels. Maurice tried to soothe the wounded ambition of Gregory, by making light of the matter. It was after all merely "a title, a few syllables!" But Gregory fires up again, fiercer than before. It was not a mere matter of syllables, "the bulk of the iniquity was weighty enough to sink and destroy all. And therefore I am bold to say, that whoever adopts, or affects, the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, has the pride and character of Antichrist, and is, in some manner, his forerunner in this haughty quality of raising himself above the rest of his order. And indeed both the one and the other seem to split on the same rock; for as pride makes Antichrist strain his pretensions up to godhead, so whoever is ambitious to be called the only or universal prelate, arrogates "to himself a distinguished superiority, and rises, as it were, on the ruins of the rest."

When Caiaphas told the sanhedrim "that it was expedient that one man should die, and the whole nation perish not," he was an unconscious prophet, as the king of the Jews then died for his subjects. So Gregory in denouncing John as the harbinger of Antichrist, in proclaiming himself universal bishop, was unconsciously predicting the almost immediate advent of Boniface III., who not only achieved the title for himself, but transmitted it to all his successors.

However loudly Gregory denounced his rival, John, he had always heaped the most flattering titles on Maurice as most religious, pious, etc., etc. His sincerity was soon put to a severe trial. The emperor, by his economy, fell out of favour with his army. The soldiers were seditious, indolent, rapacious, and only to be pleased by large pay and frequent presents. To be popular with them, the emperor had to oppress his subjects. Maurice was more backward in fleecing the people, in order to bribe the troops, than the soldiers would tolerate. A centurion, named Phocas, took advantage of the discontent, headed a revolt, and after murdering the sons of the emperor before his eyes, finished the work by the murder of the father. The empress and her daughters took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, and Phocas was afraid to outrage public sentiment by violating that asylum, especially as the patriarch ventured to oppose such desecration. Phocas then swore the most solemn oaths, that if the ladies would leave the church, they should not be injured. The moment they trusted his oaths, they were all mercilessly murdered.

Now the question is, how did St. Gregory, the eulogist of Maurice, address the monster Phocas? In L. II. Ep. 36, we find him thus eulogising the bloodthirsty rebel, regicide, and usurper. "Gregory to Phocas Augustus: Glory in the highest to God, who, as it is written, changes times and transfers kingdoms; and because He has made this known to all, which He deigned to speak by the mouth of the prophet, saying: The highest reigns in the kingdom of men, and himself gives it to whomsoever he pleaseth. God, in his incomprehensible providence, sometimes sends kings to afflict his people, and punish them for their sins. This we have known, of late, to our woful experience. Sometimes, on the other hand, God

in his mercy, raises good men to the throne for the relief and exultation of his servants. In regard to this abundant exultation, we believe we are the more speedily to be confirmed, who rejoice, that the benignity of your piety, has reached the imperial summit. Let the heavens rejoice, let the earth be glad, and for your benignant actions, let the people of the universal republic, hitherto vehemently afflicted, begin to be merry. Let the proud minds of enemies be crushed under the yoke of your dominion. Let the contrite and depressed minds of subjects, be relieved by your mercy."

Gregory was well aware that Phocas looked with an evil eye on Cynachus, John's successor in the throne of Constantinople, because he had shown no joy at the overthrow of Maurice and his family, and that he would be ready enough to strip him of his title of universal bishop, and to bestow it on a rival who would pronounce a blessing on his horrible atrocities, in seizing the empire. Gregory therefore "believes that his abundant exultation would be more speedily confirmed" by the bestowal of the glorious title. To make sure of the bright prize, he soon pens another epistle to Phocas in these words: "With great joy and thanksgivings, we may consider what praises we owe to the omnipotent God, that the yoke of sorrow is removed, and we have reached times of liberty, under the imperial piety of your benignity. May the Holy Trinity, therefore, guard your life through long times, that we may the longer rejoice for the blessing of your piety, which we were long in receiving."

That he might still further ensure his object, Gregory, according to his former policy with Maurice, sends also a letter to the new Empress Leontia. "His manner," says Dr. Campbell, "of applying to this lady, is indeed very artful. After recommending to her, and her pious

Lord, the see of the blessed Apostle Peter, he signifies his persuasion that what he had said was quite unnecessary, that their own piety must have suggested the same to them before. He takes notice of the great prerogatives of Peter in such a manner (which was now become common at Rome, though nowhere else in the Church), as though they had been his peculiarly; namely, the founding of the universal Church, the power of the keys, the power of retaining sins, and of remitting them, or of binding and loosing; whence he takes occasion, indirectly, but with great address, to insinuate that their hopes of those favours, which none but Peter could bestow, must be in proportion to their zeal for his honour." "Therefore," adds Gregory, "I have no doubt about the strength of the love which binds you to him, through whom you desire to be freed from the bands of sin. May he himself then be the guardian of your empire, your protector on earth, your intercessor in heaven."

It was clear then, if Leontia and her husband believed Gregory, Peter had taken God's place on earth and Christ's in heaven; and if they wished to have any thing to do with Peter, they must keep friends with Gregory, Peter's representative and successor. I, Gregory, am God on earth, the plenipotentiary of heaven.

Not that he says so in so many words. O no! "The servant of the servants of God," was too humble for that. As he asked Maurice: "Do I, in this, plead my own cause? Do I vindicate a wrong done to myself, and not maintain the cause of Almighty God and of the Church universal?" He is pleading for the rights of St. Peter, which, no doubt, were Gregory's. In this whole transaction, the character of Gregory stands revealed in the darkest colours, and most odious form. He was blacken-

ing the reputation of the murdered Maurice, whom he had basely flattered in his day of power, and who was really a brave and worthy emperor; and he did so to glorify his murderer, a man stained with every vice, foul with the most loathsome abominations.

Speaking of Phocas, Gibbon declares: "The pencil of an impartial historian has delineated the portrait of a monster; his diminutive and deformed person, the closeness of his shaggy eyebrows, his red hair, his beardless chin, and his cheek disfigured by a formidable scar. Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself." This hideous fiend, covered all over with innocent blood, black treason, and loathsome lust, is the subject of Gregory's panegyric. The Pope bows before him, if he will only give him the supremacy of the Church, which, to his masterly, unscrupulous, immeasurable ambition, would have been "the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them." But he was defiling his soul in vain. While he was prostrate before the fiend, God said to him: "Fool! this night they are demanding thy soul from thee; and the things thou didst prepare, whose shall they be?" Luke 12. 20.*

Gregory died, before the willing fiend could grant him his request, and Boniface III. got the prize, with power of transmitting it to his successors; and they have all clutched it, as Gregory was so fain to do. So if St. Gregory spoke the truth in denouncing John, the Faster, as the forerunner of Antichrist, in assuming the blasphemous title of universal bishop, then, *habemus faten-*

* A most remarkable passage, which seems to me spoiled in E.V. Com. S. Green and Alford, Peschito, Beza, etc.

tem, we have the authority of St. Gregory the Great, for regarding the Pope as Antichrist. The great heresiarch of Rome is "self-condemned."

This horrible transaction is spoken of by Gibbon and Milman, as an indelible stain on the fame of Gregory; implying that it is exceptional, like David's adultery or Noah's drunkenness. Gieseler even allows that he was "very pious." I can find nothing worthy the name of piety in the character and conduct of this famous pontiff. His benevolence in feeding the Romans is magnified. Gibbon pronounces him the "Saviour of Rome." Had that very learned historian possessed any real knowledge of the Saviour of the world, he would not have been so lavish of the title. What is the real truth about this boasted benevolence? The Romans were Gregory's blind slaves; and shall the slave-holder be glorified because he feeds his slaves? How could Gregory have been more than a king, if he had had no subjects?

If he fed the bodies of the Romans, he starved their souls. He taught them, more than all who went before him, to bow before images, and rotten bones, and relics of every sort. His dialogues are filled with the most monstrous lies, about, the miracles performed at the shrines of Peter and Paul, and by the chains with which they had been bound. He had the impudence to send to kings a few filings of these chains, as sovereign wonder-workers for healing diseases, and driving away the devil. This, however, was only when the file would bite, as sometimes it was impossible to rub off the smallest particle. I honour Gregory's intellect too highly to believe, for a moment, that *he* believed in all the endless lies and impious nonsense, which he has consecrated in his dialogues. The inference is clear that his whole life

was a lie for power. He loved darkness, because he could rule in the darkness.

When Serenus of Marseilles indignantly broke up the images, which he saw his besotted flock worshipping, Gregory ordered him to restore them, telling him it was impossible to do without them, as the people were too ignorant to read, and could only be taught by images and pictures. He never spoke of teaching them to read. When did bishops, when left to themselves, ever establish common schools in any country under heaven, or in any age, since the Council of Nicæa, or before? Gregory, however, said the images were not to be worshipped, as if his slaves could always be beholding them in the churches, and kneeling before them, without worshipping them. The command was express: *Thou shalt not make an image to bow before.* Rome found the words so intractable that she blotted them out, and kept up the number ten by turning the tenth into two. The Protestants, however, have shamed them out of this. Gregory has been glorified for his self-denial, in giving up his splendid fortune to establish seven monasteries. Had it been to establish seven normal schools, it would have been something. In propagating monkery, he was laying the foundations of his spiritual empire. He gave up his private wealth, but he thereby obtained supreme command of all the enormous ecclesiastical possessions of Western Christendom. Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrose, and no doubt many more, gave up their large possessions, but thereby they got the virtual command of all the wealth in their dioceses. Ambrose, by his sanctity, controlled the master of the world.

It is indeed confidently asserted that Gregory, like Ambrose, was made pope against his most earnest wishes; that he wrote a letter to Maurice, entreating that he

might be spared the honour; that the governor of Rome intercepted the letter; that Gregory then got himself carried off in a basket to a secret place; that he was found by a dove that guided the searchers, or by a heavenly light, and that Gregory was convinced at last that God would have him to become pope. No doubt he managed his election, so as to convince the ignorant, superstitious Romans of his humility. The more he resisted, the more were they determined on his elevation.

Gregory boasted of his success in converting the Anglo-Saxons; but the directions he gave to his monk Augustine, demonstrate that all he aimed at, was to substitute the images of Mary and the apostles, in the place of the Pagan idols. The missionary was to make as little change as possible in the religion of the country. If they only became Catholics in name, and acknowledged Gregory as successor of Peter, he was satisfied. This policy explains the success of Rome in her missions to the heathen. Xavier was the successor of Augustine.

We are told much of Gregory's *natural* gentleness and humanity; and supposing it all true, it only shows the malignity of Popery in depraving what is best. He would not allow the Jews to be tortured into Catholicism, nor their synagogues to be destroyed; but he would not allow any more to be built, and he reduced the rent of any Jewish convert (or hypocrite) one third. But he was a bloody persecutor of those whom he called heretics, and even of Pagans. He allowed his slaves to marry, provided they paid a tax to the priest who performed the ceremony, and acted as collector for the pope's exchequer. If the slave did not think Gregory's sanction worth buying, the illicit work might go on.

Gregory was so charmed with Phocas for avenging

him on Maurice, that he ventured to prophesy for him a long, glorious, and holy reign. He did not live to witness the speedy fall of the tyrant, and the falsification of his predictions. His death was followed by a famine, and "the fickle Romans" cursed the man who had fed them, and accused him of squandering the patrimony of the Church; and, enraged by hunger, began to destroy Gregory's library. Peter the archdeacon, Gregory's interlocutor in his dialogues, came forth and told the mob, that he had often seen the Holy Ghost hovering like a dove over Gregory's head as he was writing. Being required to take his oath of the truth of his statement, he consented, and fell dead as soon as the oath was finished. This was received as a divine confirmation of his testimony; and Gregory is always represented with the dove over his head.

Although this famous pope did not formally receive the title of "universal bishop," yet, practically, he wielded all the power which belonged to it throughout the West. He may be justly regarded as representing the apostasy complete in all its features. These, as we formerly showed, we find in 1 Tim. iv. 1, 4: "speaking lies in hypocrisy;" "a seared conscience;" "opposition to marriage;" and opposition to "meats." Gregory revelled in the most enormous falsehoods, the greater part of which it is impossible he, for a moment, believed; he showed a conscience utterly seared in pronouncing his blessings, and his praises, and his false prophecies, on such a monster as Phocas; he was a monk, and gave all his fortune to make monks, and hinder marriage, and was a zealous advocate of fasts and abstinence from meats.

Although the historian of "Latin Christianity" assures us that the "epoch of Gregory was that of the final

Christianization of the world,"* I maintain it may be proved that this man did more than any other to draw men away from Christ, who, so far as the Pope was able, was practically banished from the world he came to save. It was no longer the blood of Christ that alone had power to cleanse from all sin, but the wonder-working relics of the saints. Gregory tells the Empress Constantia that it was impossible to send her St. Paul's head; that ten men had been struck dead for merely touching the bones of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, with the pious view of putting them in order; that he could only send a cloth which had touched them, and that such cloths had been known to bleed. The chains which had bound Saints Peter and Paul would not always yield a few particles to the file; however he would try, and if he succeeded, he would send her them, which would preserve her from all calamities. They did not, however, save her husband, herself, and their nine children, from Phocas.

When writing to her successor Leontia, he assures her she will be pardoned, if she honours St. Peter (that is, himself, Gregory) sufficiently. He is the great Intercessor. Not one word of Peter's Lord, whose blood, as he tells us in his first epistle, redeems from sin. He wrote his monstrous dialogues for Theodolinda, Queen of the Lombards. It is curious to note the assiduity and success of the Roman policy in misleading empresses and queens,† and thereby guiding their husbands and enslaving the world. Clotilda, under priestly influence,

* P. 465.

† Queen Brunehaut, characterised as "the worst woman in the world," was a correspondent of Gregory, and the favourite of the bishops. Satan began the ruin of mankind, by tempting the first woman. The policy of Paradise has been continuously pursued by the priests of Rome in all ages; and we behold it carried on at this day.

proselytes her Pagan husband, Clovis; but she only "made him two-fold more a child of hell than before." It was by means of Bertha, that Ethelbert and his Saxons were baptized by Augustine. What could Gregory VII. have done without his Countess Matilda? Well might the prophetic Paul put Timothy on his guard against those who were "slipping into the houses, and leading captive silly women laden with sins, led by various lusts."* It is deserving of special notice that this graphic passage stands in immediate connection with the prophecy, already commented on, of the Churchmen of the last days, "who had a form of piety, but denied its power."

What then, asks Dean Milman,† "was this form of Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world?" And it turns out to have been "a Christian mythology!" *Mythology* means, etymologically and properly, fabulous discourse. Christian mythology, then, is Christian fable. It is a scandal that a scholar, like the late Dean of St. Paul's, should have put such words together. It is an awful fact, that everything characteristic of Gregory's system was fabulous. His worship of the Virgin, of the saints, of rusty chains and rotten bones, was founded in lies invented by hypocrites, and believed in by fools. While they were believed in, God and his Christ were ignored, forgotten, and, practically, believed in no more. Even the historian is obliged to allow that, "God the Father had receded, as it were, from the sight of man;" and "the Saviour Himself might seem to withdraw from the actual, at least exclusive, devotion of the human heart," and "men sought out beings more akin to themselves, more open, as it might seem, to human sympathies"! "More akin" to us than HE "who was bone of

* 2 Tim. iii. 6. † I. 466.

our bone and flesh of our flesh?" "More open to human sympathies" than the Son of *man;* than the merciful and faithful High Priest, who sympathizes with our infirmities, "being in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin"? O, what execrable creatures were they, who persuaded their guilty dupes of the truth of such diabolical delusions! And this is the "Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world!" To manage it so, that "God the Father should recede from the sight of man, that the Saviour himself might seem to withdraw"!

There was no "*seeming*" about it. The withdrawal was awfully real. Compare the letters of Peter with those of the wretched monk who lyingly called himself his successor.

The apostles begin and end with "God the Father" and "his Son Jesus Christ," and our relations with them. But we hardly find Christ in the letters of the false apostle; and, if the name of God is met with, it is not to honour Him, but to make Him a patron of his own Satanic ambition; of Maurice, if he will degrade his rival John, of Maurice's assassin, in hope of making him a partisan of St. Peter's chair. The true apostle exults in "the precious blood of Christ" as redeeming us, "not in corruptible silver or gold;" the false apostle extols a few filings of a rusty chain, which he pretends bound Peter, and which filings were of sovereign efficacy in procuring the pardon of sin and all other blessings.

Such infamous lies, such shameless impostures, "were among the first elements of that universal popular religion which formed the Christianity of ages." * It is the glory of Christianity, that it is a system of truth, and nothing but truth; and it is as lamentable as it is

* Milman (Lat. Chris., i. 465).

significant, to find a dignitary of the Church of England styling such vile impositions "Christianity." True, he qualifies the title by adding "of ages." But it is clear if such was "the Christianity of ages," its proper name is *Anti*christianity. For the true synonym of Christianity is "*the Truth*." This glorious name belongs equally to Christianity and its Author. "I am the Truth," says Christ, and the word is the favourite one with his apostles. It was the characteristic of the apostates (2 Tim. iv. 4.) that they were to turn away their ears from "the truth," and to be "turned aside to *the** fables": that is the fables that were to belong to the apostasy. Gregory writes a letter to Queen Theodolinda; but instead of making "the truth" the subject of his communication, it is merely an introduction to a dozen or so of books of fables, called dialogues between himself and Peter his archdeacon, whose last word (*but he did know it was his last*) in this world, was an oath, that he had seen the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, hovering over Gregory's head as he was writing. The Apostle John's 2nd General Letter contains but thirteen verses, and these are the first two: "1. The elder to a chosen lady and to her children, whom I love in truth, and not I only, but all who have come to know the truth; 2. On account of the truth that is abiding in us, and with us shall be unto the age." † etc.

These "old wives' fables," Dean Milman (L. C.) tells us were "necessary in that condition of mankind": that is, men had universally fallen into such childish ignorance, that it was "necessary" to amuse them with stories like fairy tales. But how had Christians, so

* The article overlooked in E. V.: missed by Alford and seen by S. Green.

† "The age" of Christ. "The glorious appearing of the Great God, even our Saviour Jesus Christ."

called, fallen into such a condition? For four centuries the bishops had had the teaching of them, and this is the upshot of all their Councils, imperial patrons, palaces, cathedrals, and thrones! When Paul wrote to the Romans he told them (xv. 14): "But I am persuaded, my brethren, even I myself, concerning you, that ye also yourselves are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another." And now he, who boasted that he was Paul's successor, finds *his* Romans such foolish children, that he, and his admirer, the Dean of St. Paul's, thought it "necessary" to write books of fables, more absurd than Ovid's, to teach them the things of God.

Before leaving Pope Gregory and his historian, I must notice the close of the first volume of the latter's history. He tells us: "Legendary Christianity had been the accessory and supplementary Bible, the authoritative and accepted, though often unwritten, gospel of centuries." "Bible!" "Gospel!"

I protest against such an enormous abuse of these sacred words. "Bible," means the "Book of God;" "Gospel," means "The Good-news of God." Rome's lies, legends, fables, were never "accessory," or "supplementary," to either, but fatally subversive of both. They are antagonistic, as much as truth is to a lie, light to darkness, Christ to Belial, Paul and Peter to the Roman blasphemer. The most abominable criminals on record are they who crowned all their enormities (Rom. i. 25), by changing "the truth of God into their lie;"* "they worshipped and served the creature, *aside from*†

* Lit. *the* lie, meaning the lie of these monsters. It is the article used as a potential pronoun. E.V. as usual overlooks; Alford follows E.V.; S. Green sees the article.

† *παρα*, see note, p. 12.

the Creator; who is blessed unto the ages; Amen." Well might the popes be called "pontiffs;" they both presided over systems of idolatry. The Creator's pagan competitor was Diana; his so-called Christian one, was Mary. In the former case, an imaginary being was allowed to usurp the place of God; in the latter, the "highly favoured" Virgin of Nazareth, the most honourable of women, the God-chosen channel of the world's redemption, became, by Satan's greatest achievement, the means of destroying the divine honour of her son, and causing Him apparently to withdraw from the world He came to save.*

* Dr. Milman can hardly condemn the idolatrous honours of Mary. He says (i. 467): "Of all these forms of worship, the most captivating, and captivating to the most amiable weaknesses, of the human mind, was the devotion to the Virgin Mary;" it is "worship" and "devotion;" he never calls it idolatry.

CONCLUSION.

THERE is nothing more habitually impressed on the student of history, than the connection of the mightiest revolutions with the smallest causes. The gradual perversion of apostolic presbytery became Prelacy, and Prelacy was ere long developed into Metropolitanism. This soon expanded into the Patriarchate, which ended in the Popedom. Well might the inspired apostle warn the Romans against the heretics, who were making divisions "*aside from*"* what they had learned. That almost imperceptible deviation from the straight line of a divine purity in the Christian ministry, led insensibly, but inevitably, to ignorance, immorality, wild ambition among bishops, emperors, and kings, and the deluging of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and ultimately America, with blood. These effects of Prelacy have not been occasional, partial, transient; but uniform, universal, continual for fifteen centuries.

All this, however, we are assured by certain ecclesiastical historians,† was progression not corruption,

* See Note, p. 12.

† Neander, Milman, Schaff, Newman, etc. Dr. Newman has written an ingenious 8vo volume to prove that Romanism is a legitimate, natural, inevitable, divine development of apostolic Christianity. He says, p. 112, "we are commanded in Scripture to worship objects 'animate or inanimate,' to Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus, and adorate scabellum pedum ejus." The Doctor leaves no tracks; but the former passage may be found

development not destruction, growth not death. Such a theory is founded on a complete ignoring of the whole prophetic Scriptures, which are expounded in our first chapter, and form the solid foundation of our whole argument. Milman confesses that the "Christianity of the sixth century had *barbarised.*"* It was not Christianity, but *Anti*christianity. Are we to believe these idolaters and monsters, Clovis, Fredegonde, and their bishops, Christians? The design of Jehovah in separating the children of Israel from all the nations, was to maintain a testimony to his own existence, amid the universal idolatry. "Ye are my witnesses," said Jehovah to the Jews (Is. xliii. 11). But they were perpetually proving false-witnesses by falling away to idolatry.

Christ said the same to his apostles: "Ye are witnesses of these things" (Luke xxiv. 48); and they proved, by his special grace, faithful witnesses; and, by their martyr toils and testimony, continued as these were by Papias, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the presbyters who followed—the Pagan world was pervaded by the worship of the God of Israel. But the bishops came, the false prophets filled the minds of their dupes with lies, and the wolves, the world with their ravages; and under the great wolf Gregory, we find Christendom (so called)

in Ps. 150, 1. Vulgate, and the other in Ps. 99. 5. He does not, however, tell his reader that Jerome mistranslates the Hebrew: the former being "*Praise the Lord in his sanctuary;*" and the latter, "Worship *at* his footstool." Jerome allows he sometimes writes, κατ' *δικονομίαν* or *φενακισμόν, i.e., by management* or *cheating.* It now seems that the doings at Rome have thrown the Doctor into an agony, and he tells us he can only "pray Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, and Basil—to avert the great calamity." "These be thy gods, O Rome!" When Christians are in trouble, they cry to the Lord. "Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved."

* It is a blot on the histories of Dean Milman, that we find too many new words, or new uses of old words.

has fallen back into flat idolatry. It is a flagrant abuse of language to call such idolatry Christianity, as much as it would have been for Ahab and Jezebel to call their Baalism a development of the law of Moses.

If then Prelacy has been, in all ages and countries, the means of depraving Christianity and ruining nations, this nation must at last determine whether it will always, worse than, waste its substance in maintaining it. This question was altogether overlooked in the debates on the Irish Church Bill. Over ten millions sterling of an impoverished people, were, practically, devoted to the perpetuation of Prelacy; and, in order, that this enormous sacrifice might be carried out, Romanists and Presbyterians were propitiated by considerable bribes. This was done in violation of all previous ecclesiastical precedent, without one word of objection from any quarter. The Irish Church was at last found out to be an enormous injustice, which had been ruining, for three centuries, that unhappy nation. Instead of at once, and for ever, ceasing to do evil, care was taken that the disease should be continued, in a mitigated and chronic form, for ever.

The far greater question of the English Church must ere long be considered; and it is well that there should be timely and full discussion, of the use to be made of the more than one hundred millions of public property invested in that institution. The question has been already asked whether the same proportion of the English property is to be handed over to the Anglican dignitaries, that was lavished on the Irish? The party asked,* replied, that no minister would venture on advising the Queen to consent to such a measure. But why not? If the proceeding was just in the one case, why is it not in the other? If the Irish Anglican hierarchy might justly

* Mr. Miall.

claim such a proportion of Irish property, where would be the justice of calling on our hierarchy to be content with less? Are the English less wealthy than the Irish? If the English people are incomparably richer than the Irish, why should our archbishops, bishops, deans, and canons, etc., not demand a larger proportion? The whole subject calls for full and timely discussion. In that discussion the fundamental point to be considered, is the fact regarding Episcopacy itself. Is it scriptural or apostolic? If, as I claim has been demonstrated in this volume, it is both unscriptural and unapostolic, why should the empire be so enormously taxed to sustain it in its false and pernicious pretensions? Is our financial condition so prosperous, that we can afford to spend five millions sterling annually to sustain an unscriptural and unapostolical institution? Is not this enormous capital a source of demoralization to all who come under its influence? If, as Paul tells Timothy, the love of money is a root of every mischief, can it be Pauline, can it be *Christian*, to set up a mountain of gold in the centre of the Anglican Church, to attract, seduce, and corrupt the professed servants of Christ?

The blind impiety of such a course must be still clearer, when we reflect that Anglican Episcopacy is the religion of a small minority of the empire. That minority, however, has in its hands the vast preponderance of wealth and power; and *by* that power it continues, from century to century, to appropriate the property of the nation, to maintain and pamper its own ministers. If our lords must have lords to marry them, to ordain their priests, to confirm their children, and to consecrate their churches, surely they should be just, not to say generous, enough, to pay for their own spiritual luxuries. It is a crying abuse of their power, to take what formerly be-

longed in part to the poor, and is still the property of the poor majority, as much as it is of the rich minority, and appropriate it to maintain their own expensive, showy, *unscriptural* system of worship.

The Anglican Church makes express provision against being bound by Scripture in Article XX.: "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet it is not lawful to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written." Here the door is thrown wide for any will-worship, that, what calls itself, "the Church" may please to bring forth. For the same tyranny that presumes to "decree rites," will not stick at decreeing them to be not "contrary to God's word written."

When we find out how this notable Article XX. was brought into the Anglican Creed, we are at no loss what to think of it. It was Henry VIII.th's *Protestant* (so-called) daughter, that scandal to womanhood and decency, who devised this doctrine. What did *she* mean by "*the Church*"? Practically, and essentially, it was that vain, proud, profane, loose, dissembling, merciless Elizabeth Tudor. Her slaves, whom she called her bishops, had not a dog's consent in it, any more than that wretched prelate of Ely, whom she swore, by the great Name, she would unfrock, if he did not keep to his bargain, in handing over a fine estate to Sir Christopher Hatton, the royal favourite at that particular time. SHE was "the Holy Catholic Church" that alone decreed the rites and ceremonies of Anglicanism, and by her sole "authority" decided "controversies of faith."

We now perceive why Rom. xvi. 17. should be misinterpreted. The Article XX. stands in flat contradiction to Paul's exhortation to the Romans to keep an eye

on the makers of divisions and stumbling-blocks, *aside from** the doctrine which they learned, and to avoid them. This would have been a clear vindication of the Puritans in withdrawing from the Anglican communion. While well assured of the soundness of this criticism, and prepared to meet any competent contradiction, there is no necessity for grounding our objections to the Anglican Church on this one text. It can easily be shown that, in many things she does not teach nor practise TRUTH; and if Scripture is emphatically "THE TRUTH," then we may be sure that her teaching and practice must be "*contrary* to Scripture."

I. Her bishop is not a scriptural bishop. In presuming to read 1 Tim. iii. 1, etc., at the consecration of her prelates, she is guilty of gross prevarication. This is demonstrated in the previous argument. Dean Alford expressly declares that here the Anglican version "sets a trap" for the common reader; as the apostolic bishop had "nothing in common with our bishop." Nothing is more certain and demonstrable than this; and yet Bishop Ellicot, in his volume on the pastoral epistles, professing to revise the Anglican version, actually resets this trap for the feet of his flock. This does not seem a pastoral proceeding: it looks wolf-like. Still, looks are deceitful. Bishop Ellicot is a great Grecian; and who knows whether he may not be able to correct Dean Alford and my humble self. They are both doctors, who are proverbially apt to differ; yet charity demands that the bishop shall set the dean right—*if he can*. Meanwhile, till this is done, I will maintain, that an Anglican bishop is not an apostolical bishop, and that his "consecration" is a *desecration*.

Peter (1 Ep. v. 3) forbids *lording* over the "*allotted*†

* See note, p. 12.

† κληρων.

portions." The Anglican bishop not only wears, and claims, the legal title of *lord,* but he actually *lords* it over the parishes, into which, without ever asking the Christian people's consent, he sends whomsoever he pleases to rule them. Where was any apostle ever guilty of such lording? Paul and Barnabas "appointed elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23), but they appointed none that the church had not previously chosen by "*stretching out the hand.*" (See Alford.) The Anglican bishop would be thought a successor of Paul: how does he dare to do what Paul never did—what Peter expressly forbade being done?

II. Neither is the Anglican priest a scriptural priest. He is as spurious as the bishop who ordains him. According to Peter (1 Ep. ii. 5, 9), the poorest Christian is a holy priest—a royal priest. The Anglican Church has stripped her common people of their God-given glorious title, and hung it on her second order of ministers. This fatal falsehood came in with bishops in the third century, and has done more than anything else, except Prelacy, to plunge Christendom into idolatry.

"Being all priests" (that is Christians in general), they require not, nor admit of any distinct body of men, among themselves, specially called priests, nearer to God than themselves." (Alford on 1 Pet.)

Then why does the Anglican Church "admit a distinct body of men," calling themselves priests? Not one of the passages quoted in the Prayer-book, about "ordering of priests," contains even the word priest. The longest quotation is John x., which declares *him* a thief and a robber, not a shepherd, who does not enter the sheep-fold by the door. Our Lord calls Himself "the door." To enter through Him is to enter through his authority. Paul, acting by Christ's authority, ap-

pointed no man a presbyter in a church (Acts xiv. 23), who had not been previously chosen by the votes of the church. Popular election, then, is the only door through which a church, or Christian congregation can, by apostolic rule, be entered. To enter in any other way, makes a man a "thief and a robber." Now in the Church of England there is no popular election. The patron, whether layman or bishop, is the "door." What then is the presentee or incumbent? and what is the patron?

III. The Anglican deacon is *not* a scriptural deacon, but is the lowest grade of the hierarchy, while the apostolic deacon was a *waiter* or *servant*, as the very word* signifies, but, being transferred, not translated, the meaning is covered up as in *bishop*.

Alford, commenting on Acts vi., warns us: "We must be careful not to imagine that we have here the institution of the *ecclesiastical order* so named." Why then does the Church of England read the passage at her "ordering of deacons?" Why does she say that the apostles chose Stephen, etc., when it was the people that chose? Why appoint the deacon to wait on the priest, when he was appointed to wait on the church? What the Anglican Church, then, calls "ordering of priests and deacons," is nothing but a *disordering of both*, just as we found her "consecration" of bishops was really a *desecration*.

IV. But not only are the three orders of the English Church spurious; neither her bishop, her priest, nor her deacon being visible in the New Testament, but each and all the corrupt inventions of man; her three Creeds are spurious also. The apostles never framed what she calls the Apostles' Creed. What she calls the Nicene Creed, was never framed at Nicæa. The Athanasian Creed, with its contradictory, or unintelligible dogmas, and

* διακονος.

damnatory clauses, was never framed by that little "busy-body" of Alexandria, but is the forgery of some impostor, who usurped an influential name. These facts are well known to the better informed of the Anglican clergy. How is it they go on, from age to age, printing what they know to be false, in that book which they value as next to the Bible, if not as equal, or superior?

V. But not merely is the office of a prelate unknown to Scripture; the mode of his appointment, in the Church of England, is a most singular combination of absurdity and profanity. The leading politician of the day selects some one, for whatever reasons, to wear a mitre, and sit in the House of Lords, and mentions the name of the future peer to Her Majesty. She issues her *congé d'élire* to the chapter of the see; that is, she intimates her pleasure, that the dean, canons, etc., proceed to choose her minister's nominee. They meet; they pray for guidance of the Holy Spirit to make a right selection, and the prayer is always answered in favour of the party previously named. A day is fixed for his enthronement in the cathedral, and his assuming the task of guiding one, two, or three, millions of souls to heaven, and making laws for over two hundred millions of souls on earth. This does not, in these days, seem a likely way of training men to venerate the Holy Spirit, to respect our gracious Queen, or even her bishops.

VI. A common mode of sending priests into parishes, by buying a living, is a monstrous outrage on apostolic authority and example. Simon Magus offered Peter money for the gift of the Holy Spirit, and was answered: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money."

Among the ascension gifts received by Christ for his Church, we find "pastors and teachers." When a man

wishes to teach in the Church of England, and cannot find a more eligible way, he goes with a price in his hand, and buys the office. When he comes to the self-styled successor of Peter, he is asked: "Do you think in your heart, that you be truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the ministry?" He answers, "I think it." When the truth is, he really bought the ministry with gold. And the Church of England sanctifies this operation, by reading the passage from the Epistle to the Ephesians, about the ascension gifts bought "by the blood of Christ," and "not with such corruptible things as silver and gold."

When a man has grown rich in trade—*e.g.*, the tallow or oil trade—he sends his son to Oxford to learn to be a gentleman. He comes back, but has lost all taste for trade. The tallow does not look attractive; the oil does not smell of Oxford. What can he do? His father is rich enough to buy a good living. He mentions it to the money-maker, who smiles on the proposal. The living is soon found. It is a safe, genteel investment. The aspiring son takes his place among the gentry; he enters the magic circle of the aristocracy; becomes one of the Anglican Brahmins; and the taint of tallow and the odour of oil, are forgotten for ever. But there is no savour of salvation in all this.

VII. The baptism of the Church is awfully deformed by human inventions. Where did the godfathers and godmothers come from? Not from Scripture; for then they would be "from heaven." "The great and terrible name" seems profaned when thus taken in vain; and the matter is not mended by giving the sacred names of father and mother to those who are neither. Who authorized them to usurp the titles of the parents, as well as of the great God?

Besides, truth and common sense are both outraged when the profane pretender is asked: "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?" He answers: "That is my desire," when he desires no such thing. He means that the *babe* is to be baptized. He is then asked if, "he will obediently keep God's will and commandments, all the days of his life"? And he answers: "I will"; when he means no such thing, but promises and vows that the babe will do so, as if he really knew anything about it—nay when he knows well enough the babe will *not* do what no man ever did but ONE. Are promises and vows in the face of God and man to be thus abused? Was there ever a more striking proof of the absurdities, to say the least, which custom will reconcile us to in the name of religion? Can there be a reasonable debate that the Anglican baptismal service is a tissue of daring outrages on truth, reason, and Scripture. As to every Anglican babe so handled becoming "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom?" What *can* be said to such pretensions? If daily experience and common observation are equally defied, what room is there for argument?

When the child comes in due time, some fourteen or fifteen years after his baptism, under the hand of the bishop for confirmation, his lordship asks him if he renews the solemn promise and vow made in his name at his baptism? The child answers, I DO. The "promise and vow" were, that "he would walk in all God's holy will and commandments all the days of his life." Does the poor child fancy that his godfather's vow has kept him without sin up to the hour of his confirmation? If he does, what idea can he have of himself or of God's law? If he does not, if he knows he has often done what he ought not to have done, and is indeed a "miserable sinner" as

his Litany says, why is he led to fancy that his own vow will be better kept than his godfather's? And if he does not believe it, why is he told to *vow* it. Is this the way to teach him the third commandment, and to tremble at the thought of taking the Great Name in vain? In one word, is this the religious teaching that is to sanctify secular reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to keep the "child of God and the inheritor of the kingdom of heaven" safe in this wicked world?

VIII. The Anglican communion of the Lord's Supper is unintelligible, because *contradictory*. The catechism teaches the child that, "The body and blood of Christ, are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," and yet it is stated after the "order of Holy Communion," that the Sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances. If then the bread and wine remain still in their *very* natural substances, how *can* the body and blood of Christ be *verily* and *indeed* taken and received in the supper? Again "the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here," how then *can* that body and blood be verily and indeed taken and received on earth, and in thousands of places at once? And it is with such glaring contradictions, every Anglican child must be crammed before being sent, for a final operation, under the confirming hand of the bishop.

IX. What a grotesque indecency is the marriage service of the Anglican Church, ordering the man to tell his bride, that he "worships her with his body," and "endows her with all his worldly goods," at the very moment he is stripping her of all, unless his hands happen to be tied by a marriage settlement, which may be feasible for those who are rich enough to pay for it, and have property to be anxious about. It seems the policy of all

priests to stultify those who believe in them, that they may the more surely guide them, or rather *mis*guide them, into being tools for priests, just as the Scythians put out the eyes of their slaves to hold them to the uninterrupted churning of the butter.

X. The Anglican Church, in setting up her unscriptural order of priests, has destroyed the apostolic order of presbyters. As is demonstrated in the preceding argument, the presbyter was the only apostolic officer appointed to guide and govern the church. But even Paul never appointed him without a previous vote of the church. Now, he is sent by the bishop, or other patron, into this church or that, without any vote of the people at all, but, when appointed, he has no ruling power in withholding the bread and wine from "an extortioner, a railer, or a drunkard." Anything cautious enough to keep out of a criminal court, can demand the symbols of salvation. Let "the priest" dare to obey the command of Paul to the Corinthians (1 Ep. v. 11), and the bishop will teach him the limits of his power, or if the bishop presume to countenance his indiscreet subordinate, even *he* will be taught that in wearing the lawn, he wears the livery of State service. The bishops are servants of the State, and the poor presbyter is "a servant of servants." But the command of Paul is clear, "Be not ye the servants of men." Yet the bishops will have it that they are the successors of the apostles!

XI. The Anglican Church is a heretical church, if disobeying the Apostles, and the Fathers can make a church heretical. Paul, as we have so often insisted, commands us (Rom. xvi. 17.) to have nothing to do with those who depart from the Apostolic teaching; and Irenæus specifically forbids all intercourse with those "who set themselves above the Presbyters!" Of course

Irenæus is set at nought by the prelate; and Paul distinctly commands the Romans not to harass the weaker brethren by "doubtful disputations." The Puritan objected to the Apocrypha being brought into divine worship. He thought the Roman impiety, of equalling it with the Word of God, ought not to be countenanced even in appearance; that Paul declared, "All Scripture was given by inspiration of God," that "the man of God might be perfect," and that to bring in the words, and apparently, in some cases, the foolish words of men, was dishonouring God and his Word, as if they needed man's folly to help them. The Episcopalian despised the Puritan as a weak, foolish person for his scruples, forgetting that even if he *was* weak, he was for that very reason to be spared. But, in defiance of Paul's command, he was driven out of the Church, and denounced as a schismatic; when all the schism was on side of those who were, "to please themselves," making a party; that is, becoming "*heretical.*"

We are confirmed in this, when we behold the alienation and proud disdain, which a State hierarchy always indulge toward all who will not own and submit to their pretensions. They are thus the worst of all schismatics, because their rancour against all who differ from them, is exactly measured by the fondness which they cherish for the wealth, and power, and splendour with which the State indulges them at the expense of all others. Nor would this be altogether cured, even by the disestablishment and disendowment of the hierarchy. As we see in the United States, the Episcopalians are apt to indulge in almost as high airs as their Anglican brethren about apostolic succession, and all its kindred absurdities. The bitter fountain is found in setting aside the apostolic government of presbyters, and the setting up of

the puffed pretenders to apostolicity, whom Paul, and Hermas, and Irenæus, and all the apostolic fathers combine to expose.

XII. The Anglican Church has dealt unfaithfully with the word of God. In obedience to the command of a tyrant, she undertook the office of translating the original Scriptures into English, for England, Scotland, and Ireland. But one of the rules under which the tyrant's slaves were bound down, was: *That ecclesiastical terms should not be translated.* Why? Because such translation would open the eyes of Englishmen to the fact, that the Church of England was not a scriptural Church. BISHOP was an ecclesiastical term, and is a transferred Greek word for *overseer.* But James I. would not have επισκοπος translated, because that would tell everybody that there was no bishop in the Bible, which would have been the first step to putting them out of the nation. James and his bishops were determined, that that first step should not be taken.

There is, however, one passage (Acts xx. 28), where the Greek word επισκοπος is rendered "*overseer.*" Why? Because had it *there* been rendered *bishop,* every one would have seen, that in the one Church of Ephesus, there were several bishops. In that one text alone, therefore, the word is translated, not as everywhere else, transferred, because, there, dust had to be thrown into the common reader's eyes, lest he should discern the unscriptural nature of English Church government. Dean Alford, then, writes like an honest man, when he says: "The English version has hardly dealt fairly in this case with the sacred text," etc. *

The truth is, the only fair way of dealing with "the ordinary English reader," is to render επισκοπος not only

* See p. 37, etc.

here, but everywhere else, *overseer*,* for then he would see, that a bishop is not to be found in the New Testament. Indeed, the only rule for translating, if the ordinary reader is to be dealt fairly with, is invariably to translate where that is practicable. By ordering, therefore, Bishop Bancroft and his brethren not to alter *Bishop, Deacon, Easter, Church,* James took care that his subjects should receive no light, that might prove inconvenient for himself and his hierarchy. In this, they acted as ministers of darkness, not of light.

It is true the Church of England has been more faithful than Rome, inasmuch as she has denied the Apocrypha a place in the "word written." But then, why does she allow it the honour of forming a large part of her lessons, or lectionary, as she calls it? How is it, that the filthy nonsense about Tobit and his sparrows, the curiosities about Susannah and the elders, the grotesque legendary lies about Daniel, and Bel and the Dragon, still pollute her pages, and stultify her children? It is the crowning of her impiety, that she betook herself to these filthy weapons to beat off her best children, who might otherwise have returned to her. At last, it seems, the Judicial Council is getting ashamed of such things. But it illustrates how hard her noble reformers find it to set matters straight, when they still retain some forty out of the hundred lessons from the Apocrypha. Verily, these gentlemen are apostolic so far; they may say with Paul, "When we would do good, evil is present with us."

Lastly: Why does the Anglican Church give two versions of the Psalms? Can they both be equally good? That is impossible. The inferior one, therefore, is im-

† As that excellent scholar, T. S. Green, does, infinitely to his own credit with all qualified to judge. It is a pity he had a bad proof reader.

posed on her votaries as the word of God. For instance, the Prayer-book, Ps. cxli. 6, says: "But let not their precious balms break my head;" but in the Bible it stands: "*It shall be* an excellent oil *which* shall not break my head." Now it is certain, both these cannot be right; it is very possible both may be wrong. Why does the Anglican Church perpetuate such absurdity, but that she fears, if the rotten timbers are touched, the old house will come down?

XIII. The Anglican Church has acted indecently, as well as unfaithfully, with the word of God, in polluting it with a dedication, that is a scandal to all truth, but most of all to the truth of the majesty of heaven. The unclean thing stands still, where it has been allowed to stand almost three centuries, the vile stumbling-block at the door of the heavenly temple; praising as a "defender of the faith," him, who was a habitual liar and swearer, and, when he thought his kingcraft called for it, a daring tamperer with perjury; and who, with his Somerset and Buckingham, was a scandal to manhood. And yet, "*his heavenly hand hath enriched your highness with many singular and extraordinary graces;*" enough and too much, of this insufferable abomination.

I conclude, therefore, that the Bishop of the Church of England has no place in the word of God, and stands in defiance of the apostles and their Lord, and that, created and controlled as we behold him, he is "a servant of men;" that her priests, though they have presumed to appropriate the glorious title common to all Christians, are but "servants of servants;" that her deacons are no deacons that Scripture knows; that her three Creeds are as spurious as her three orders; that her baptism is corrupted by falsehoods and absurdities; and her communion a contradiction in terms; that her marriage

service dishonours God's "honourable" ordinance; and finally, that, in obedience to a tyrant, she has systematically obscured, corrupted, and defiled, the living word of the eternal God.

If every word of this statement is truth (and I will publicly thank any man who will point to a syllable that is false), then the question which this nation has to decide is: Whether she will allow over a hundred millions of her property to be any longer locked up, to maintain such palpably unscriptural, such glaringly false, such ridiculously absurd, such fatally mischievous pretensions. It is high time, and more, that this great subject were thoroughly understood; and it will not be understood at all if it is not thoroughly *discussed*. The nation must do this, and having done it, and come to a clear conclusion of what God and Justice demand, she must choose men to carry out her determination.

Before finally concluding, it may be well rapidly to survey the ground we have gone over. We found our Lord warning his disciples of the coming of the false prophets—the tearing wolves in sheep's clothing, who were only to be found out by their "fruits." Paul, thirty years after, in addressing the elders of Ephesus, renews the prediction, and confirms it again and again, in his various epistles. He warns the Thessalonians that "the man of sin" would come before Christ, that "the apostasy" was "first to set in." He insists, in both his letters to Timothy, that mischief was coming: "The Spirit speaketh expressly that *some*" (that is, *most*) "will apostatize from the faith;" "this know that difficult times are coming." Peter, and Jude, and John all join in the solemn warning, that "false prophets," "false apostles," were at hand.

We then turned to the history of the Church to search

for these "wolves," these false prophets and false apostles. For two centuries and more the churches are at peace among themselves. The wolves are all Pagan wolves, and are all outside. Tertullian tells us the Pagans cried in wonder: "See these Christians, how they love one another;" *but all this while bishops were unknown.* Fifty years after, however, Bishop Cyprian upbraids the churches for their wickedness, and his brother bishops for their rapacity and cruelty; accusations which Bishop Eusebius resumes fifty years after Cyprian. Had the wolves not come with the bishops; especially as these bishops called themselves "*successors of the apostles*"?

Then comes Constantine with his Nicene Council, pretending to put all right by persecution, and only making matters a thousand times worse; this year driving the Arians from their thrones, and next, bringing them back, and driving out Athanasius and the orthodox, and dying an Arian at last. Gregory Nazianzen denounces the bishops' Councils as "gatherings of geese;" and Hilary declares they had turned the Church "into chaos, and the very image of hell." However Arians differed from the orthodox about Christ's divinity, they were all persecutors of each other, when they got the emperor on their side. Were these men not the wolves predicted by Christ and Paul?

Then comes Theodosius the Great, with St. Ambrose and Augustine for his teachers, driving the Donatists to suicide to escape the tender mercies of the Catholics; Pope Damasus and his rival in bloody struggles in the streets of Rome for the bright prize of the popedom, and the Pagan prætor telling Damasus he would become a Christian to-morrow, if they would make him (the Pagan) Bishop of Rome; these fights convulsing all the metropolises of the empire; and Ammianus the Pagan declaring

that Christians were more savage to each other than wolves and tigers; Theodosius II. and Pulcheria allowing St. Cyril to harass Nestorius out of his life, and Dioscorus to beat St. Flavian to death; St. Leo strengthening the Papacy, and hunting the Manichees from Rome, and throughout the world; Justinian and Theodora establishing an *Inquisition* to search out heresy, and destroy the heretic and confiscate his goods; Bishop Avitus flattering Gundebald the fratricide, if he will only become a Catholic; and the Catholic Clovis becoming twofold more a child of hell than before his conversion; till at last we come to St. Gregory the Great with his miracles, legends, and lies, blessing Phocas the Monster, if he will but make him Universal Bishop, and bowing to the fiend in vain: is it possible to survey this history of the Catholic Church, and to doubt that the awful predictions of Christ and his apostles were fulfilled to the letter, that the false prophets, the tearing wolves, not only came in the Church, but prevailed for over fifteen centuries? We behold them still, though, thank God, their teeth are decayed, and their claws pared. Still they are blackening the streets of Rome, and taking counsel whether their teeth and their claws may not be made stronger and sharper than ever. But the Word that foretold the advent of the apostasy, also foretold its destruction. "The man of sin" is immortal till "the Son of Man" "is revealed in flaming fire;" till "The Lord consumes him with the breath of his mouth, and destroys him with the brightness of his presence."

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